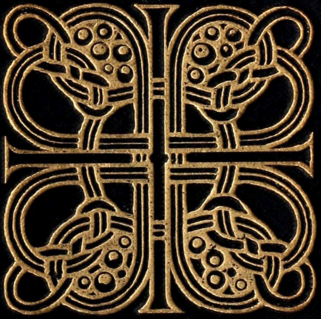
The Century Bible



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THE CENTURY BIBLE

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THE CENTURY BIBLE

A MODERN COMMENTARY

EDITED BY

PRINCIPAL W. F. ADENEY, M.A., D.D.

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DANIEL

EDITED BY

R. H. CHARLES, D.D.

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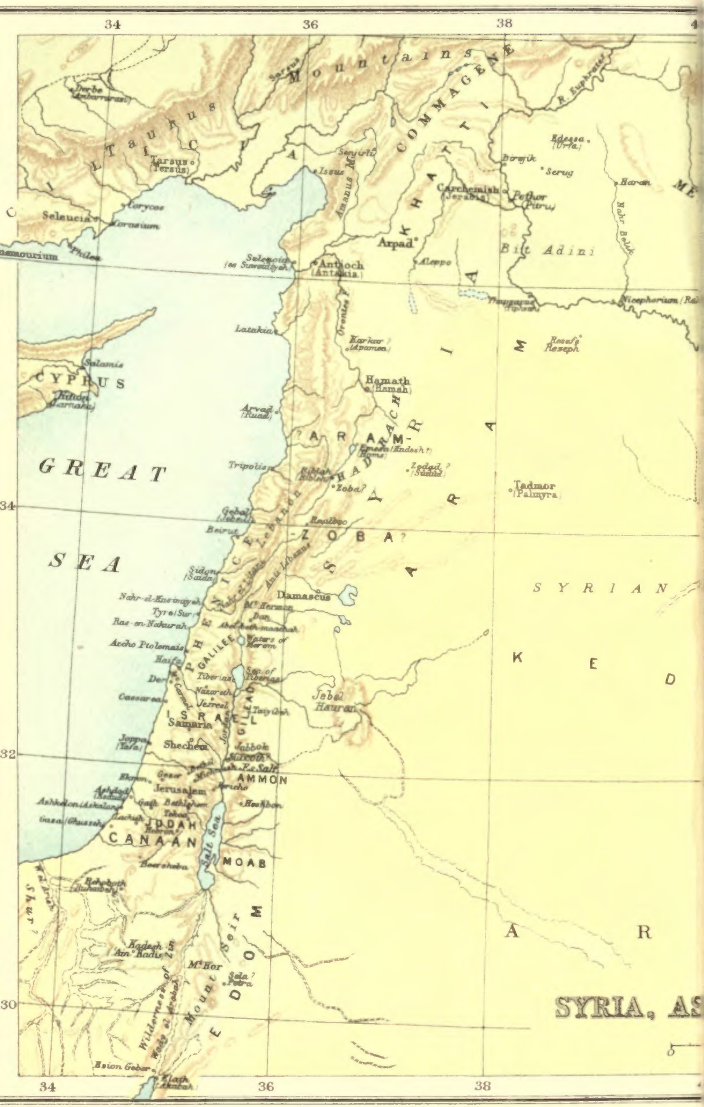
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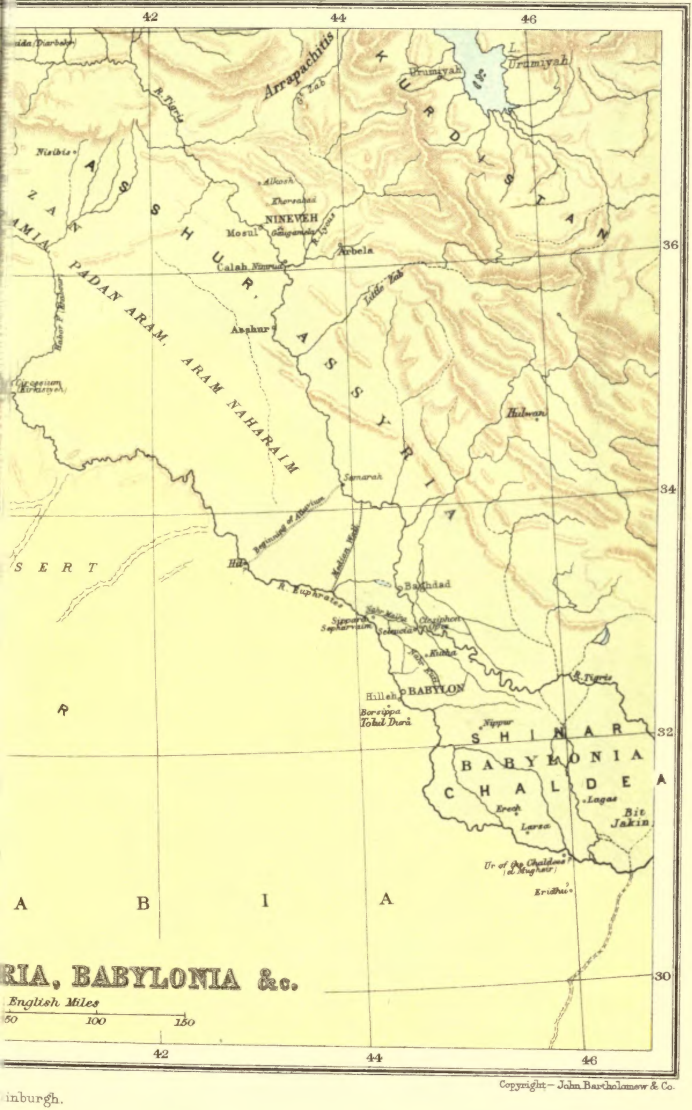

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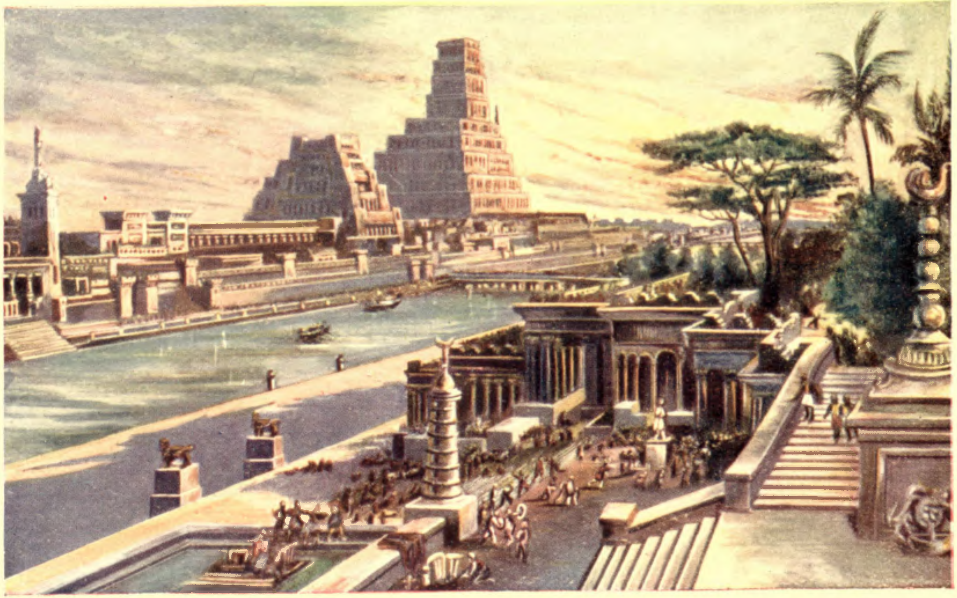

Ancient Babylon

The Century Bible

A MODERN COMMENTARY

The Book of Daniel

INTRODUCTION
REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES
ILLUSTRATIONS

EDITED BY

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FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

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THE BOOK OF DANIEL

INTRODUCTION

§ I. HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF BOOK OF DANIEL: ITS PSEUDONYMOUS CHARACTER: ORIGINALLY UNILINGUAL, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY BILINGUAL: ITS VARIOUS VERSIONS.

IN the closing years of the Syrian domination of Palestine, Antiochus Epiphanes sat on the throne of Syria. With his struggles with Egypt and other powers we are not here concerned, but only with his dealings with the Jews. His ambition was to hellenize the various provinces and peoples in his great Empire. In this aim he met with little opposition except in Judea, and even there he secured without difficulty the support of the hellenizing High Priests. Thus the High Priest Jason, a creature of Antiochus, who had superseded his brother, the faithful High Priest Onias III, set up a Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem, to join in the games of which the very priests abbreviated the sacred services of the Temple. Through his agency also contributions were sent for the celebration of the festival of Heracles at Tyre. Jason was succeeded by Menelaus, who had secured the High Priesthood by the promise of a huge sum of money to Antiochus, a sum which he was unable to raise save through plunder of the Temple treasury. For rebuking this treacherous act, Onias III, referred to above, paid for his fidelity with his life. In 170 B.C., while Antiochus was warring in Egypt, the rumour that he had fallen encouraged the exiled Jason to make an attempt to recover the High Priesthood, This attempt led to much bloodshed in Jerusalem, and Antiochus on his return treated the Jews with the utmost severity.

Multitudes of men, women, and children were put to the sword, and thousands were sold into slavery. This visit of Antiochus closed with his seizure of the last treasures of the Temple. Thus the Jews suffered from without as well as from within, but the cup of their sorrow was not yet full. Two years later Antiochus marched with a vast force into Egypt with the intention of making the kingdom of the Ptolemies a province of his own Empire. But when his plans seemed on the eve of fulfilment he was met by envoys from Rome, who required him, on the penalty of joining issue with the Republic itself, to withdraw at once from Egypt. Enraged and embittered Antiochus turned homeward, resolved now to devote all his power to the hellenization of Judea. With this object in view he forbade the observance of the Sabbath and the practice of the rite of circumcision. The sacrifices of the Temple were done away with, and every form of Jewish worship and ceremonial. The sacred books were destroyed, and the Temple dismantled and laid waste. The walls of the city were overthrown, and a fortress erected commanding the Temple enclosure. But the culminating horror of this awful time was yet to come. On the 15th of December, 168 B.C., a heathen altar was planted on the site of the great altar of burnt offering, in honour of Olympian Zeus. On the 25th of the same month the profanation of the sacred precincts was consummated by the sacrifice of swine on the altar. Furthermore, every city and village was required to build temples and raise idolatrous altars on which swine were to be sacrificed daily.

At last the anguish of the faithful Jews became unendurable and an insurrection burst forth at Modein, under the leadership of Mattathias and his five stalwart sons. All that were zealous for the Law and the Covenant speedily joined them, and amongst these notably the Ḥasidim, or the league of the pious ones. This small body of Jews met with many marvellous successes. Notwithstanding, in the face of the vast forces of Syria, the Jews could repose no hope in their own powers. If they were to succeed it could not be in reliance on the arm of flesh. Now it was just at this crisis, this hour of mingled hope and despair, that the Book of Daniel 'appeared with its sword-edge utterance, its piercing exhortation to endure in face of the despot, and its promise, full of Divine joy, of near and full salvation. No dew of heaven could fall with more refreshing coolness on the parched ground, no spark from above alight with a more kindling power on the surface so long heated with a hidden glow. With winged brevity the book gives a complete survey of the history of the kingdom of God upon earth, showing the relations which it had hitherto sustained in Israel to the successive great heathen empires of the Chaldaeans, Medo-Persians, and Greeks—in a word, towards the heathenism which ruled the world; and with the finest perception it describes the nature and individual career of Antiochus Epiphanes and his immediate predecessors so far as was possible in view of the great events which had just occurred. Rarely does it happen that a book appears as this did, in the very crisis of the times, and in a form most suited to such an age, artificially reserved, close and severe, and yet shedding so clear a light through obscurity, and so marvellously captivating. It was natural that it should soon achieve a success entirely corresponding with its inner truth and glory. And so, for the last time in the literature of the Old Testament, we have in this book an example of a work which, having sprung from the deepest necessities of the noblest impulses of the age, can render to that age the purest service; and which by the development of events immediately after, receives with such power the stamp of Divine witness that it subsequently attains imperishable sanctity [1].'

The pseudonymous character of this book has been a source of great trouble to many, but to the student who is acquainted with the facts of the time, it is obvious that, if the book were to realize the end it aimed at, it could not have been otherwise than pseudonymous. Owing to the Law having achieved an absolute and exclusive supremacy, the calling of the prophet had ceased to exist, and there was no room for a religious teacher, except in so far as he was a mere exponent of the Law. From this it followed that all real advances to a higher theology could appear only in works of a pseudonymous character. Accordingly, when a man of God felt that he had a message to deliver to his people, he was obliged to cast it in this form. And thus it was that the brilliant visionary to whom we owe the Book of Daniel issued under the name of an ancient worthy this book of transcendent worth not only to his own, but to all after ages (cf. § 3). It has taught to mankind many imperishable lessons, and of these there is none nobler than the confession of the three youths, 'There is a God, whom we serve, who is able to deliver us . . . and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O King: but if not . . . we will not serve thy gods nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (iii. 17, 18).

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[1] *Ewald*, v. 305 (translated by Stanley).

The Book of Daniel was most probably written in Aramaic, and parts of it subsequently translated into Hebrew (cf. § 5). In these cases the Aramaic original was superseded by the Hebrew. At a very early stage of its history glosses were introduced into the text (cf. § 7).

Not long after the book assumed a bilingual character and was glossed, it was translated, possibly about 145 B. C., into Greek. This Greek Version, known as the Septuagint, has been preserved to us in a single Greek MS. of the eleventh century, but happily it was translated into Syriac about the year A. D. 617.

In the meantime, probably in the first century B. C., a second Greek translation was made from the bilingual text under the guidance of the older translation. But by this time the bilingual text had undergone severe dislocations in chapters iv–vi. Accordingly, since all versions save the oldest LXX Version are derived from this later form of the bilingual text, they all attest the same dislocations in these chapters. But to return : this second Greek Version has not survived independently but only in quotations of the first century and the early decades of the second century A. D., and in the version of Theodotion, of which it appears to have formed the basis (cf. § 6).

The Version of Theodotion, which belongs to the second century A. D., approximates closely to the Massoretic text, but implies in many passages a purer form of the Semitic text. The Peshiṭto and Vulgate Versions were made from a still later form of the Semitic text than that used by Theodotion[1].

§ 2. POINTS IN COMMON BETWEEN PROPHECY AND APOCALYPTIC[2].

The forms of the prophetic experiences as beheld by the inner eye, or heard by the inner ear, as well as their literary expression, must take their character largely from the spiritual and literary standards of the time. This psychical experience of the prophet was generally one of sight or of sound ; that is, in the psychical state he either saw certain things or heard certain things. Now the things so seen or heard he could grasp only so far as his psychical powers and the spiritual development behind him enabled him to do so ; that is, in the case of a heavenly vision he could at the best only partially apprehend its significance. To the things seen he perforce attached the symbols more or less transformed that these naturally evoked in his mind, symbols that he owed to his own waking experience or the tradition of the past ; and the sounds he heard naturally clothed themselves in the literary forms with which his memory was stored.

---

[1] In this Introduction many critical questions are perforce inadequately dealt with, since a fuller treatment would necessitate the employment of Semitic on a large scale. The present editor hopes to edit a fuller commentary later.

[2] In the above section I have only mentioned a few of the characteristics common to Prophecy and Apocalyptic. For a detailed comparison see the second edition of my *Eschatology*, 1913, *in loc.*

And yet, however successful the prophet might be in setting forth his visionary experiences, he laboured, as we have pointed out, under a double disadvantage. *His powers of spiritual perception* were generally unequal to the task of apprehending the full meaning of the heavenly vision, and *his powers of expression* were frequently unable to set forth the things he had apprehended.

Now these visions and trances belong both to prophecy and apocalyptic. Furthermore, just as the prophet came not unfrequently to use the words, 'Thus saith the Lord,' even when there was no actual psychical experience in which he heard a voice, but when he wished to set forth the will of God which he had reached by other means, *so the term 'vision' came to have a like conventional use both in prophecy and apocalyptic.* It is of special importance to remember this in connexion with chapter xi, which of course is not to be taken as a literal vision. The Seer is attempting to represent the course of events *sub specie aeternitatis.* A like attempt on a larger scale will be found by the reader in 1 Enoch lxxxix-xc.

§ 3. WHY DID APOCALYPTIC BECOME PSEUDONYMOUS IN JUDAISM?

The fact of a religious teacher issuing his work under the name of another has been a source of profound difficulty to most biblical students in the past and to a large section at present.

If the book is really pseudonymous, the representatives of these students would categorically declare that the book is a forgery. It must be confessed that the grounds which scholars have in the past adduced for the use of pseudonymity by Jewish teachers have quite failed to justify themselves at the bar of the ordinary conscience. It is of no avail to state that such writers were wholly devoid of literary ambition and were only concerned that their teaching should be accepted. No more will it avail to argue that they were merely making use of a literary form that was common throughout antiquity. If they pursued the same lofty and religious aims as the older prophets, as unquestionably they did, how is it that they came not forward with their message in their own persons? That they did not do so is certainly not that they feared the fate that befell so many of the prophets and that would assuredly have befallen them (cf. Zech. xiii. 3 sqq.). The religious leaders of the Maccabean period had no such fear of death; they were only too ready for martyrdom as we know from actual history. The real grounds, therefore, for pseudonymity must be found elsewhere. Into these, which I have discussed at some length in the second edition of my *Eschatology*, I cannot enter here. I will, however, for the sake of the reader, summarize my results.

From the time of Ezra onwards, the Law made steady progress towards a position of supremacy in Judaism. And just in proportion as it achieved such supremacy, every other form of religious activity fell into the background. This held true even of the priesthood, which in due course became subordinate to the teachers of the Law. But in an infinitely higher degree was it true of prophecy. When once the Law had established an unquestioned autocracy, the prophets were practically reduced to the position of being merely its exponents, and prophecy, assuming a literary character, might bear its author's name or might be anonymous. When a book of prophecy brought disclosures beyond or in conflict with the letter of the Law, it could hardly attain to a place in the Canon. This was the case as we know with Ezekiel, which narrowly escaped being declared apocryphal by Jewish scholars (Shabb. 13 *b*, Men. 45 *a*) as late as the first century of the Christian era. The next claim made by the Law was that it was all-sufficient for time and eternity, alike as an intellectual creed, a liturgical system, and a practical guide in ethics and religion. Thus theoretically and practically no room was left for new light and inspiration or any fresh and further disclosure of God's will; in short, no room for the true prophet—only for the moralist, the casuist, or the preacher. How then from the third century B.C. onward was the man to act who felt himself charged with a real message of God to his day and generation? The tyranny of the Law, and the petrified orthodoxies of his time, compelled him to resort to pseudonymity. And if these grounds had in themselves been insufficient for the adoption of pseudonymity, there was the further ground—the formation of the Canon. When once the prophetic Canon was closed, no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such, nor could it gain a place among the sacred writings at all unless its date was believed to be as early as the time of Ezra. On this ground again the prophetic type of man was forced to resort to pseudonymity to obtain a hearing, and so to issue his work under the name of one of Israel's ancient worthies of a date earlier than Ezra or at all events contemporary with him.

§ 4. THE ETHICAL CHARACTER OF APOCALYPTIC.

Prophecy has always been recognized as the greatest ethical force in the ancient world. Such also was apocalyptic in its time, and yet an attempt has recently been made by advanced liberals to differentiate prophecy and apocalyptic on the ground that apocalyptic and ethics are distinct, and that ethics are the kernel and apocalyptic the husk which Christianity shed when it ceased to need it. How any scholar who was really acquainted with the texts could make such a statement I cannot understand. Apocalyptic was essentially ethical. To use the mixed metaphor of St. Paul, it was rooted and grounded in ethics, and that an ethics based on the essential righteousness of God. In every crisis of the world's history, when the good cause was overthrown and the bad triumphant, its insistent demand was ever: 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' and its uncompromising optimism, its unconquerable faith under the most overwhelming disasters was: 'God reigns, and righteousness shall ultimately prevail.' The words of a modern poet would in some degree represent the mental attitude of the apocalyptist, in his outlook on the apparent triumph of evil over good, of falsehood over truth:

> 'Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record
> One death-grapple in the darkness twixt old systems and the Word;
> Truth for ever on the scaffold, wrong for ever on the throne:
> Yet that scaffold sways the future and behind the dim unknown
> Standeth God within the shadow keeping watch above His own.'

The ethical element is the fundamental element in the chief books of this literature. What else but an inexpugnable sense of truth and duty to truth inspire the refusal of the three children in Daniel to fall down and worship the image that the king had set up? When the king demands: 'Who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?' mark the splendid heroism of their reply: 'There is a God whom we serve who is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (iii. 17 sq.).

Now let us turn to the apocalyptic books outside the Canon.

What an expressive ethical statement is that in Jubilees (xxi. 22) addressed to Israel!

> 'Beware lest thou walk in their ways
> And tread in their paths,

> And sin a sin unto death against the Most High,
> And so He deliver thee back again into the grip of thy transgression.'

Or, turning to a different theme, let us hear what the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs say of the faithful doer of the word of God.

> 'Every man that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
> And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth . . .
> For though there be a leading into captivity,
> And cities and lands be destroyed,
> And gold and silver and every possession perish,
> The wisdom of the wise can nought take away,
> Save the blindness of ungodliness,
> Or the callousness that comes of sin.
> Even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
> And in a strange country a fatherland,
> And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.'
>
> (T. Levi, xiii. 3, 7-8.)

Or again, in 2 Enoch (lxiii. 2-3): 'As one year is more honourable than another, so is one man more honourable than another. This man on account of having possessions, that man on account of the wisdom of the heart, another on account of understanding, another on account of purity, another on account of strength . . . but let it be heard everywhere; there is none greater than he that feareth God.'

Or again, when the apocalyptist says of the unceasing service of an order of heavenly beings: 'They rest not day nor night; for unto them thanksgiving is rest.'

There are numberless other passages showing the moral depth and inwardness of this literature. What nobler advice could the best ethical Christian teacher give to a defeated rival than this: 'If a man is prospered beyond you, do not be vexed, but even have recourse unto prayer on his behalf, that he may be prospered to the full'

(T. Gad. vii. 1)? Or again: 'If any man seeketh to do evil unto you, do him a good turn, and pray for him, and so from all evil ye shall be redeemed of the Lord' (T. Jos. xviii. 2). Or again: 'The holy man is merciful to him that revileth him, and holdeth his peace' (T. Bunj. v. 4).

Now it would be possible to fill many pages in setting forth the teaching of apocalyptic on such ethical subjects as conscience, courage, endurance, longsuffering, justice, truthfulness, temperance, singleness of heart, deceit, calumny, folly; on religious themes of an ethical character as love, faith, works, forgiveness, compassion, humility, reverence, covetousness, lust; or on metaphysical themes influencing ethics, as foreknowledge, freedom, determinism, heredity, individualism, universalism; but we have established our thesis sufficiently for our present purpose[1].

The ethical teaching on these subjects in apocalyptic is a vast advance on that of the O.T., and forms the indispensable link which in this respect connects the O.T. with the N.T.

§ 5. PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE BILINGUAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL. WRITTEN ORIGINALLY AS A WHOLE IN ARAMAIC.

I shall begin with a short statement of the facts. This statement will be followed by a brief sketch of the various theories which have been offered for the solution of these problems. It is possible, indeed, that none of the theories advanced is in itself adequate, and that it may be necessary to invoke the joint aid of two or more of them. For as the problem is complex it is possible that the solution will be likewise complex.

I. The first notable difficulty in the Book of Daniel is connected with its use of two languages. Thus chapters i. 1–ii. 4 *a* and viii–xii are written in Hebrew, and ii. 4 *b*

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[1] This section is reprinted from my *Eschatology*², 1913, 190–193. See Maldwyn Hughes, *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*.

(from 'O king')–vii. 26 in Aramaic. The difficulties occasioned by this diversity of language are somewhat accentuated by the fact that in the first six chapters Daniel is spoken of in the third person, whereas in the latter six he is represented as speaking in the first. The main difficulty, however, is connected with the change of language, to which there is no corresponding change of subject-matter. A like change of language is found in Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26, but there this change can be explained from the subject-matter.

How then is the change of language in Daniel to be explained? Are we to explain it as due to diversity of authorship or origin, in the case of the sections in question, and thus assume that these sections were originally written in the language in which they have been transmitted to us? or, rejecting this hypothesis and assuming the literary unity of the book, are we to believe that this present difference of language is not original, but that the book was first written in Hebrew, and that the loss of certain chapters of the Hebrew original was subsequently made good from the Aramaic translation? or conversely, that the book was first written in Aramaic and subsequently translated into Hebrew, and that the Hebrew translation was in part destroyed and the missing portions supplied from the Aramaic original? or, finally, that the present Hebrew renderings of chapters i. 1, ii. 4 *a*, viii–xii were deliberately substituted for their Aramaic originals in order to gain an entrance for the book into the canon of the Holy Scriptures; for Hebrew, of course, was regarded as the sacred language.

II. The second notable difficulty connected with Daniel centres in the wide divergence between the two Greek Versions, the Versions of the LXX and Theodotion. Where this divergence appears, which is the most trustworthy? Here also full consideration must be given to the theory that, whereas Theodotion's Version is based directly on the text practically as it stands in the Bible, that of the LXX is said by two recent scholars to have been made from a Hebrew original throughout.

In the present connexion we can only enumerate the theories that have been advanced to explain the diversity of language in the text of Daniel.

I. Some scholars (Kliefoth, *Dan.* p. 44; Keil, *Dan.* p. 14) were of opinion that Aramaic was the vernacular of Babylonia, and was accordingly used in the sections relating to that country.

But this theory cannot for a moment be sustained. The cuneiform inscriptions prove that the language of Assyria and Babylonia was indeed Semitic, but a Semitic language distinct from Biblical Aramaic.

The latest connected inscription of this nature is that of Antiochus Soter 280–260 B.C. Gutbrod (see Prince's *Book of Daniel*, p. 11 note) is of opinion that this Semitic language of Assyria was spoken until Hellenic times. As a language of the learned it may have survived till the second century B.C. In connexion with this theory we may notice the popular but now discredited fallacy, that the Jews forgot their Hebrew in Babylonia and spoke 'Chaldee' on their return to Palestine—a discredited fallacy we repeat; for we know from Nehemiah that Hebrew was the nominal language of the Jews in Jerusalem in 430 B.C. (Neh. xiii. 24).

Biblical Aramaic, misnamed 'Chaldee,' was not brought across the Syrian desert by the Jews, but they 'acquired gradually' the use of it 'from their neighbours in and about Palestine' (Driver, *Dan.* p. lix) after their return from the captivity[1].

II. Other scholars seek to explain *diversity of language by diversity of origin.* Thus this theory finds its starting-point and justification in the various attempts that have been made to analyse Daniel into different independent elements.

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[1] See Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, 1890, p. 16; Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, §§ i, 2, 6.

One of the most reasonable theories offered under this head is that of Meinhold (in Strack-Zöckler's *Kurzgef. Kommentar*, 1889). According to Meinhold chapters ii. 4 *b*–vi were a piece of narrative written in Aramaic about 300 B.C. about Daniel and his history. These chapters a writer of the Maccabean age accommodated to the needs of his own time, and having prefixed i–ii. 4 *a* as an introduction to ii. 4 *b*–vii, he supplemented these with chapters viii–xii, containing visions of his own composition with special references to the persecutions of Antiochus, and issued the whole as a bilingual work. Another form of this theory is that enunciated by Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, p. 11, 1898). Dalman supposes that i–vi and vi–xii existed independently. The former was written in Aramaic, giving an account of Daniel's experiences and those of his companions at the court of Babylon. For a work in which visions were interpreted to the kings of Babylon, Aramaic, which was the *lingua franca* of the whole East at that time, was naturally considered suitable. The second part of the book, vii–xii, was written in Hebrew, as it recounts Daniel's own visions with their interpretation by an angel, who of course would use only the sacred language. The redactor then took the two works in hand, and translated i–ii. 4 *a* into Hebrew and vii into Aramaic, and compressed into one whole the two halves which were distinguished by their contents.

III. The third theory is that which commands the assent of Driver, Behrmann, and Kamphausen, though it is to be observed that Driver with his usual caution and judgement does not absolutely commit himself to it, but only terms it as 'relatively the best' among the explanations offered. According to Kamphausen (*Encyc. Bibl.* I. 1005) 'the author has introduced the Chaldeans as speaking *the language which he believed to be customary with them*: afterwards he continues to use the same language on account of its greater convenience both for himself and for his original readers, both in the narrative portions and in the following (seventh) chapter, the piece in companionship to chapter ii; for the last three visions (viii, ix, x–xii) a return to Hebrew was suggested by the consideration that this had from of old been the usual sacred language for prophetic subjects.' According to Behrmann, the Chaldeans, that is the learned priestly class among the Babylonians, are introduced as speaking Aramaic in ii. 4 *a* in order to give a local colouring. The Aramaic of our text, it is true, is Western Aramaic, but the distinction between Western and Eastern Aramaic does not, Behrmann says, come here under consideration. But in i. 4 it is said that clever and chosen Jewish youths required three years to learn the literature and tongue of the Chaldeans. The tongue of this language could hardly therefore be a form of Aramaic, but rather Babylonian, a Semitic language very different from the Hebrew, or it might be even the non-Semitic Sumerian preserved in many of the marginal texts in the cuneiform script. That Babylonian was an unknown language is stated in Jer. v. 15.

If, therefore, we may presume that our author was familiar with his Jeremiah, and if, as Lenormant informs us, he had 'an excellent knowledge of Eastern usages,' we may reasonably conclude, first, that he does not confound Babylonian and Aramaic, and, secondly, that he would be very unlikely to represent the Chaldeans as speaking a language which according to this theory was familiar both to Jew and Chaldean. The words 'in Aramaic' in ii. 4 are therefore with Oppert, Lenormant, Nestle, Prince, and Marti to be rejected as an interpolation. Dr. Driver holds that this excision is probably right.

On the above grounds, therefore, we are inclined at present to conclude that the change of language in Daniel did not originate with its author. From considerations of a different nature we had previously shown that it was impossible that this change could be explained by diversity of origin.

Two other theories are possible; and these ascribe the present form of the book not to its author, nor to a diversity of origin of its different sections, but to the fortunes it met with after its publication.

IV. The first of these theories, which is advanced by Lenormant, Bevan, Zeydner, Von Gall, Paul Haupt, and Prince, is that Daniel was originally written in Hebrew. But as 'the author lived in a time of intense excitement, and the book was evidently meant not for a small circle, but for all "the holy people" (see especially xi. 33, xii. 3);' the author himself or one of his associates (Bevan, *Dan.* p. 27) translated the book into the Aramaic vernacular, since the Hebrew language was then unintelligible to the ordinary people. 'But if the book was originally written throughout in Hebrew, why,' Bevan asks, 'has it reached us in its present form?' To this he answers: 'The most plausible supposition is that a portion of the Hebrew text having been lost, a scribe filled up the gap by borrowing from the Aramaic version.'

Objections to this theory have been advanced by Driver and Marti. The former maintains that this theory 'does not account for two facts (which can hardly both be accidental) that the Aramaic part begins in chap. ii just where the Aramaic language is mentioned, and breaks off just at the end of a chapter' (*Dan.* p. xxii). Marti further asserts that the Aramaic section does not convey the impression of being a translation, that the assumption of such an accident as the theory makes is a mere makeshift, and that it is not at all probable that a book which was written when the Maccabees were gaining the upper hand should be translated and yet not secured against destruction. These objections have undoubtedly some weight, but are by no means conclusive.

V. The preceding theory has assumed a further development in the hands of Riessler and Jahn. These scholars maintain that chapters ii–vii of the version of the LXX were made directly from the Hebrew, and not from the

Aramaic, as was that of Theodotion, and that the Hebrew text presupposed by the LXX is more original than the Aramaic of the Massoretic text, and formed moreover the Hebrew source from which the Aramaic version was translated in a revised form. I have tested this theory and found that the facts are against it.

VI. We have now practically considered every possible explanation except that of Marti and Wright following in the steps of Huetius and Bertholdt. Marti (and herein the present writer agrees with him) is of opinion that the book was originally written wholly in Aramaic. Thus he contends that while on the one hand, the Aramaic section of Daniel does not give the impression of a translation, and nowhere points to a Hebrew original, the Hebrew sections, on the other hand, favour the hypothesis of an Aramaic original since they contain frequent Aramaisms. Marti, after advancing various grounds for the truth of his hypothesis, proceeds to argue that no book written wholly in Aramaic could have been admitted into the Canon, as Hebrew was regarded as the sacred language, but since its exclusion from the Canon could with difficulty be contemplated on account of the importance of its subject-matter, the beginning and end of the roll were translated into Hebrew. At verse 4 in chapter ii the translator found occasion to bring his translation into Hebrew to a close, for the time being, as the Chaldeans were now represented as speaking, and to resume his translation into Hebrew with chap. viii because in chap. ix, which is closely connected with viii, already the prayer of Daniel had made its way into the text in a Hebrew dress. See the notes on this passage in the Commentary that here follows.

When once the beginning of Daniel and its closing chapters were written in Hebrew, it could be adopted into the Canon just as well as Ezra, and thus the book would owe its appearance in Hebrew and Aramaic not to an accident, but to its partial translation into Hebrew deliberately undertaken with a view to its inclusion in the Canon.

This view seems to accord best with the facts of the case, but it requires to be substantiated by a much larger body of evidence than has yet been adduced.

§ 6. THE VERSIONS.

The chief versions of the Book of Daniel are: (*a*) the two Greek versions, i.e. the LXX and Theodotion, the two Syriac versions; (*b*) the Peshiṭto; (*c*) that of Paul of Tella; and (*d*) the Vulgate.

(*a*) *The Greek Versions.* These two versions are of great value for the reconstruction of the Text, notably the former. As we are aware, the LXX unhappily is preserved only in one very corrupt MS., i.e. the Codex Chisianus, attributed by some experts to the ninth and by others to the eleventh century. This MS. once belonged to Pope Alexander VII, a member of the Chigi family. It was not till more than a century after his death that the *editio princeps* of this MS. was published at Rome in 1772. Many editions have subsequently appeared, the most recent of which is that of Dr. Swete, who, to the great convenience of scholars, prints the versions of the LXX and Theodotion on opposite pages, and appends at the foot of the LXX version the variants from the Syriac version of Paul of Tella. This last version is of no slight interest. It was made by Paul, bishop of Tella, in the years 616–617 from a hexaplar text. Thus it attests the condition of the LXX text as it existed at the beginning of the seventh century. As regards the date of the LXX version of Daniel, it is probable that it was made in the latter half of the second century B.C. *circa* 145.

The date and relations of Theodotion's version of Daniel are far from easy to determine. According to Irenaeus, Theodotion was an Ephesian, but according to

Epiphanius, a native of Pontus and a disciple of Marcion, before he adopted Judaism, while Jerome reports that he was probably a Jew who had espoused Ebionitic Christianity. Epiphanius assigns the period of his activity to Aurelius Commodus. As this Commodus reigned from 180 to 192 A. D. and as Marcion flourished about 150, the version of Theodotion, if we may trust Epiphanius, was written towards the close of the second century A. D. The *Paschal Chronicle* follows Epiphanius and ascribes the work of Theodotion to the year 184 A. D.

The above date is very doubtful, and is in all probability two or more decades too late. But even if we could establish as early a date as 150, it would not materially lessen the difficulties which embarrass the relations of this version with that of the LXX. For we find that a great variety of readings which are peculiar to Theodotion as against the LXX are found already in quotations from Daniel in the first century of the Christian Era.

Before entering, however, on this large question, we should observe that prior to Jerome's time[1] the Church discarded the use of the LXX version of Daniel in favour of that of Theodotion. How this came about Jerome could not tell. The way for such radical action had already been prepared by the action of Origen, whose citations from Daniel, as Dr. Gwynn writes (*Dict. of Christian Biography*, iv. 974), 'agree almost *verbatim* with the text of Theodotion now current,' a fact that accords well with the announcement made by Origen, in the ninth volume of his lost *Stromata*, that he intended to use this version. (Jerome on Dan. iv. 6.)

But Theodotion's version was used by several of the Fathers before Origen's time. Clement of Alexandria used Theodotion with occasional readings from the LXX (*Paed.* ii. 8 ; iii. 3).

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[1] *Praef. in Dan.* 'Danielem prophetam iuxta LXX interpretes ecclesiae non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione' (cf. *Contra*, Ruff. ii. 33).

In North Africa Tertullian's (*ob.* 240) references to Daniel are based mainly on the LXX version, though in a few cases he cites Daniel according to Theodotion. His contemporary Cyprian (*ob.* 258), Burkitt states, took his citations from the Old Latin translation of Daniel according to the LXX, which was already corrected according to Theodotion's version. At an earlier date Hippolytus, the pupil of Irenaeus, adopted this version in his Commentary on Daniel about A.D. 202[1]. Hippolytus was here following in the footsteps of his master Irenaeus, who was the first among the Fathers to quote Daniel ix. 24–7 as a Messianic prophecy according to Theodotion's version.

We have thus far only mentioned writers who lived subsequently to the date usually assigned to Theodotion. But the Theodotion type of text was clearly familiar to writers of an earlier date. Thus in Hermas there is one undoubted reference (*Vis.* iv. 2. 4) to Theodotion's version of Dan. vi. 22 and possibly two others (*Mand.* xii. 4. 1—Dan. v. 6, vii. 28, iii. 19; *Vis.* i. 1. 3—Dan. ix. 20).

But the existence of Theodotion readings before the time of Theodotion is still more clearly established by the long extract Justin Martyr (*ob. circa* 165) gives in his *Dial. c. Tryph.* xxxi from Dan. vii. This extract, while fundamentally in agreement with the LXX, presents us with five distinctively Theodotion words and phrases, and at least as many readings peculiar to the LXX.

That this combination of the two distinct types is not due to pure eclecticism or defective remembrance on the part of Justin has been shown by Burkitt (*Old Latin and Itala*, pp. 223 ff. *a*), since we find the same admixture in the Latin version in Tertullian's reproduction of the same passage. But earlier still, Clement of Rome (1 Cor. xxxiv. 6, *circa* A.D. 96) shows acquaintance (*ἐλειτούργουν*—LXX *ἐθεράπευον*) with Theodotion in a citation from the passage of Daniel just referred to, and Barnabas (*Ep.* iv. 5) recalls Theodotion's rendering of Dan. vii. 24 more closely than that of the LXX.

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[1] See Bratke, *Das neu entdeckte 4. Buch des Dan.-Comm. von Hippolyt.*, Bonn, 1891,

But still more memorable is the attestation given by certain passages of the N.T. to the existence of a contemporary Theodotion text. Thus Rev. ix. 20 follows Theodotion's rendering of Dan. v. 23, and the dependence seems clear of xix. 6, on Theodotion's rendering of Dan. x. 6, since the LXX has here a different phrase. A considerable amount of strong evidence in the same direction could be advanced from the N.T., and from the evidence taken as a whole it is reasonable to conclude that there were two pre-Christian Greek versions of the Book of Daniel, one of which was the LXX and the other a revised LXX. For the existence of two such versions we have a partial analogy in the two Books of Esdras in the LXX. A further and better analogy to the existence of two different versions of the Book of Daniel, which in fact represent in a minor degree two recensions of that book, may be found in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, of which there are two distinct Greek versions, one of which is represented by three MSS. and the other by six.

If the scope of this work admitted of it, we should now have to inquire: did these two versions go back to different Semitic originals, or did the notable variations between these two versions arise within the Greek itself? But though we cannot advance here the detailed evidence of the Semitic text and of the Greek versions, we can state the conclusions arrived at from the above evidence.

These are, that if the Semitic text in its present form is as old as the Christian era, or even as ancient as 100 B.C., then there existed side by side with it another form of the Semitic text, of which the LXX version in the Chigi MS. presents us with a valuable, though corrupt rendering. It is possible to prove that the vast majority of the corruptions in this version can be traced to a Semitic background.

This statement holds in regard to chapters i–iii, vii–xii, and its cogency has been recognized to a considerable extent by all the foremost scholars.

But with regard to chapters iv–vi the case is different. Here the foremost scholars have in most cases relinquished the study of these chapters in despair. Thus Bevan writes on p. 46: 'In chapters iii–vi . . . the original thread of the narrative is often lost in a chaos of accretions, alterations, and displacements.'

This same view is practically set forth by Behrmann on pages xxx sq. of the introduction to his edition. Bludau (*Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Daniel*, p. 154, 1897) states as his opinion, after a critical investigation of the LXX, that chapters iv–vi are to be named 'a revision rather than a translation', and that this verdict is quoted with approval by Marti in his edition, p. xix.

But with the above conclusions the present writer cannot agree. A long sustained and minute study of the text and versions has led him to conclude that it is just in these chapters that the LXX makes its greatest contribution to the reconstruction of the original text, particularly in chapter iv. The bulk of the evidence for this conclusion cannot of course be given here, but some of the grounds are enumerated in the short introduction to chapters iv–vi, p. 37–39.

b. The Peshiṭto Version belongs to the same type of versions as Theodotion, and therefore agrees for the most part with the Massoretic text. Of course it diverges at times from all known authorities, and in one case may single-handed represent the original, i.e. xi. 41.

c. The Syriac Version of Paul of Tella. This slavishly literal rendering of Origen's Hexaplaric text was made at Alexandria in the years 616–617 by Paul of Tella. It is preserved in an eighth-century MS., and was published by Bugati in 1788. This Syriac version is of great value in the correction of the Codex Chisianus. In fact, in many instances it attests an older and purer form of the

LXX text. It retains the critical signs introduced by Origen into the text, i.e. the asterisk, the obelus, and the metobelus, which have as a rule been omitted or displaced in the Codex Chisianus.

d. The Vulgate Version. This version was made in the years 319–405. It is most closely related to the Massoretic text and to Theodotion. Sometimes it agrees with the Massoretic against Theodotion, and sometimes conversely, whilst in others it seems to take an independent line.

§ 7. ALL AUTHORITIES GO BACK TO A GLOSSED TEXT.

Though a comparison of the versions of the Semitic text enables us to excise certain phrases as intrusions in the text, there remains a number of passages which have the support of all the authorities, but which a study of the context forces us to recognize as interpolations.

It will be sufficient here to give a list of these passages, which are dealt with as they occur in the Commentary. Some of the passages branded as glosses or additions in the list which follows are, it is true, omitted by one or more of the versions, but a considerable number are attested by all the authorities. The evidence will be found in the notes on the respective passages.

Additions and Glosses in Daniel.

i. 2. ‘to the house of his God’—a gloss on ‘the treasure house of his God’ in next clause.

20–21. An addition.

ii. 4. ‘in Aramaic’—a gloss or a corruption of ‘saying.’

40. ‘and as iron that crusheth all these.’ A late gloss. Theod. Pesh. and Vulg. omit.

iii. 23. An otiose repetition of 21 *b*.

iv. The order of the Aramaic and of all the versions except the LXX is here secondary. Verses 6–9, a gloss (om. by the LXX).

10 *b*–12. Two dittographs, 'And the height . . . great'
'And in it was meat for all'

36. 'mine understanding returned to me'—an intrusion, being a repetition from ver. 34.

v. 11. 'the king (I say) thy father'—an intrusion.

vi. 4. 'neither was any error . . . in him.' A dittograph. LXX and Theod. omit.

7. 'or man'—rightly omitted by LXX.

12. 'or man'—rightly omitted by LXX.

15. Theod. omits 'assembled together unto the king and'—LXX omits clause — and transposes this verse before 13.

vii. 1. 'told the sum of the matters. Daniel spake and said'—(a gloss?).

5. 'another . . . a second'—one word a gloss.

11. 'I beheld'—a gloss.

17. 'which are four'—a gloss.

viii. 21. '[rough] he-goat.'

24. 'but not by his own power'—repeated from ver. 22.

ix. 4–19. An addition to the text found in all the authorities.

x. 4. 'which is Hiddekel'—an addition.

8. 'I retained no strength'—an addition.

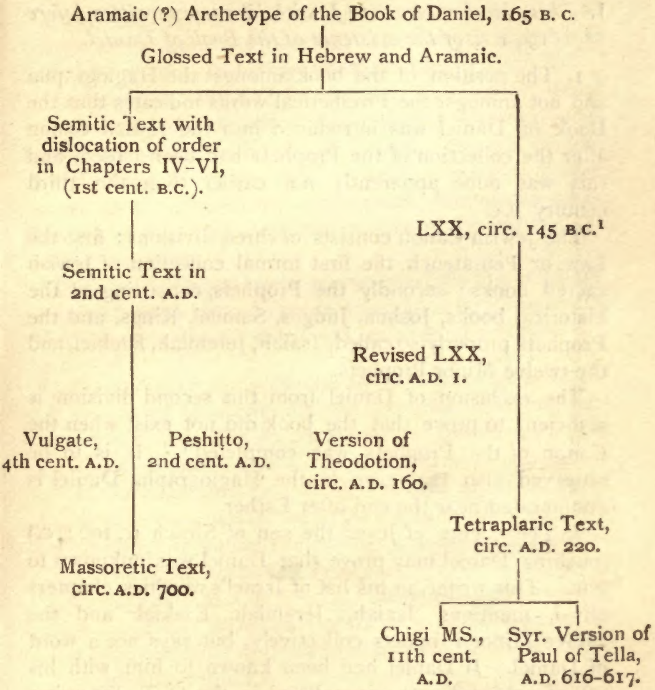
9. 'with my face'—LXX and Pesh. omit.

21–xi. 2. Primitive dislocation with corruption of the text and glosses.

xii. 11, 12. Glosses.

§ 8. TEXTUAL AUTHORITIES OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL AND THEIR RELATIONS REPRESENTED IN A GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

We are now in a position to represent provisionally the affinities of the lost and existing textual authorities of the Book of Daniel.


Aramaic (?) Archetype of the Book of Daniel, 165 B.C.
Glossed Text in Hebrew and Aramaic.
Semitic Text with dislocation of order in Chapters IV–VI, (1st cent. B.C.).
LXX, circ. 145 B.C.[1]
Semitic Text in 2nd cent. A.D.
Revised LXX, circ. A.D. 1.
Vulgate, 4th cent. A.D.
Peshitto, 2nd cent. A.D.
Version of Theodotion, circ. A.D. 160.
Tetraplaric Text, circ. A.D. 220.
Massoretic Text, circ. A.D. 700.
Chigi MS., 11th cent. A.D.
Syr. Version of Paul of Tella, A.D. 616–617.

§ 9. DATE OF THE BOOK.

As a result of modern research it is now generally agreed amongst scholars that the Book of Daniel was written in or shortly before 165 B.C. The chief reasons for these conclusions are as follows :—

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[1] This date is of course hypothetical. It is a conclusion from the fact that the Hellenistic Jew who wrote the 3rd Book of the Sibyllines (circ. 140 B.C.) refers to the ten horns in Daniel.

I. *There is no evidence in Jewish literature written before* 190 B.C. *of the existence of the Book of Daniel.*

1. The position of the book amongst the Hagiographa and not amongst the Prophetical works indicates that the Book of Daniel was introduced into the Jewish Canon after the collection of the Prophets had been closed, and this was done apparently not earlier than the third century B.C.

The Jewish Canon consists of three divisions: first the Law or Pentateuch, the first formal collection of Jewish sacred books; secondly the Prophets, consisting of the historical books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the Prophets properly so called, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets.

The exclusion of Daniel from this second division is sufficient to prove that the book did not exist when the Canon of the Prophets was completed[1]. It is to be observed also that even in the Hagiographa Daniel is enumerated near the end after Esther.

2. The silence of Jesus the son of Sirach (*c.* 190 B.C.) touching Daniel may prove that Daniel was unknown to him. This writer, in his list of Israel's worthies, chapters xliv–l, mentions Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets collectively, but says not a word of Daniel. If Daniel had been known to him, with his roll of achievements unparalleled in the O. T., the writer could hardly have said, as in xlix. 15, that no one had ever been born like unto Joseph.

3. *The oldest testimonies to the existence of Daniel belong to the years* 140–107 B.C.[2].

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[1] Daniel's use of the phrase '*the* books' in ix. 2 seems to indicate that the prophetic canon was already closed.

[2] In the oldest section of 1 Enoch, i.e. in xiv. 18, 19, 22, xxi. 5, there are phrases which are found in Daniel vii. 9, 10, 16. These may be absolutely independent of each other, or they may spring from a common source. The same no doubt holds true of 1 Enoch lxxxix. 40 compared with Daniel xi. 16, 41.

Sibyllines. In the third book of the Sibyllines, 388–400 (*c.* 140 B.C.), there is a manifest reference to Epiphanes and the ten horns in Daniel vii. 7, 20, 24.

Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. In this work, which was written probably 109–107 B.C., there are several indubitable references to the text of Daniel. See my edition, p. 238. In I Maccabees (*c.* 100 B.C.), chapter ii. 59, 60, the words assigned to the dying priest Mattathias make mention of the miraculous deliverance of Daniel and his three companions.

Thus from external testimony we conclude that the Book of Daniel was written between 190–140 B.C. The rest of the evidence as to the date rests on internal grounds.

II. *First, the writer's inaccurate acquaintance with the events of the exile and the immediately subsequent history; secondly, his very accurate knowledge of the third century* B.C. *and the first thirty-three years of the second century* B.C., *for which he is accepted by historical critics as a first-class authority; and thirdly, the vague generalities which mark the transition of the narrative as it passes from the region of history into that of prophecy about the years* 167–165 B.C. *These facts can hardly be explained unless on the assumption that the book was written between the years* 167–165 B.C.

The above facts are manifest to every unbiased student of the work, and the proofs of these statements will be found in the Commentary in connexion with the passages concerned. It follows as a matter of course that the author should have a more accurate acquaintance with the history of his own time than with that of preceding centuries. If the book were written at the time of the exile the most accurate part of the book would be that which dealt with events from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Cyrus, but this is just the part of the book which is least historical. The most important inaccuracies are as follows :—

(*a*) The transportation of Jehoiachim in the third year of his reign: see note on i. 2.

(*b*) The use of the term Chaldeans, not in its ethnic sense, but as denoting a learned class amongst the Babylonians: see note on i. 4.

(*c*) The assumption that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic: see note on ii. 4; but the text here may not be original.

(*d*) The designation of Nebuchadnezzar as 'the king of kings': see note on ii. 37.

(*e*) The use of the term 'satraps': see note on iii. 2.

(*f*) The seven years' insanity of Nebuchadnezzar: see introduction to chapter iv, p. 38.

(*g*) The representation of Belshazzar as son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar: see introduction to chapter v, pp. 48 sqq.

(*h*) The Median Empire of Darius, who is said to have been the sole and independent ruler of Babylon before Cyrus: see note on v. 31.

From the above facts it follows that our author had a very inaccurate knowledge of the history of the Babylonian period as it appears in the Cuneiform records, and that for his knowledge of this period he was indebted to contemporary tradition in which the events of Babylonian history often appear in a distorted form. Of the Persian period his knowledge appears to be scant if not also untrustworthy: see note on xi. 2.

But when we come down to the Greek period, the case is wholly different and our author becomes here an actual historical source. This holds specially with the sections that deal with the Egyptian campaigns of Antiochus (xi. 25-39) and his persecution of the Jews. His representation of Antiochus, who became to aftertimes the prototype of the Antichrist, is of extreme value; he recounts the desecration of the altar of burnt offering (Dec. 15, 168 B.C.: he refers to the Maccabean revolt and, as he designates it 'a little help,' xi. 34, he is acquainted with the first Maccabean victories. He predicts the impending death of Antiochus Epiphanes, but with details as to place which conflicted with actual facts (see note on xi. 45). The rededication of the Sanctuary, Dec. 25, 165 B.C., was to him still in the future (see note on viii. 14).

The limits of the date are therefore easy to determine. The book must, therefore, have been written before 165 B.C. and after 167 B.C.; for we cannot ascribe the victories of Judas Maccabaeus over Apollonius and Seron to a later date. These victories at all events must be in the background according to chapter xi. 34[1].

§ 10. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

I. *Neo-Babylonian Kings and Notable Events.*

	B.C.
Nabopolassar—at first a viceroy of Babylon under the sons and successors of Assur-bani-pal, but subsequently the king and independent ruler of Babylon on the destruction of the Assyrian empire by the Medes	625–605
Nebuchadnezzar, as crown prince, defeats the Egyptian forces at Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2) on the Euphrates and recovers all Western Asia .	605
Nebuchadnezzar—king of the Chaldaeans (see note on this term, p. 7) and of Babylon . .	604–561
Amêl-Marduk, i.e. Evil-Merodach (2 Kings xxv. 27 sqq.), son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar	561–559

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[1] Other facts point in the direction of a late date. An exilic date for the book is excluded by its use of many words derived from the Persian, these are referred to in notes on i. 3, 5, ii. 5, 6, 9, 18, iii. 2, 21, 24, xi. 7, xi. 45.

But, furthermore, there are three words borrowed from the Greek, see note on iii. 5. It is only natural to assume that these did not obtain currency in the East till after the time of Alexander the Great.

Finally, the fact, that our author was acquainted with the Book of Jeremiah and 2 Chron. xxxvi, see note on i. 1, postulates a date not earlier than the third century B.C., while the eschatology demands a still later period.

	B.C.
Nergal-Sharezer (Neriglissar), having assassinated his brother-in-law Amêl-Marduk, reigned	559–556
Labashi-Marduk, son of Nergal-Sharezer, reigned only nine months, being murdered by his nobles	556–555
Nabuna'id, the last king of the Chaldaeans, who was not a descendant of Nebuchadnezzar, but the son of Nabu-balatsu-ikbi, seized the throne and became king	555–538
Cyrus, king of Anshan (558), overthrows the Median empire (550), becomes king of Persia *circa* 547, takes Nabuna'id, and makes himself master of Babylon, over which Belshazzar, son of Nabuna'id, had been governor (?)	538
Cyrus thus becomes king of Babylon	538–529
Cambyses, his son, becomes king	529
Conquers Egypt (which remains a province of Persia till 332)	525
Darius I, Hystaspis, king of Persia	521–486
Xerxes (=Ahasuerus in O.T.)	485–465
Artaxerxes	465–425
Darius II, Nothus	423–404
Artaxerxes II, Mnemon	404–359
Artaxerxes III, Ochus	359–338
Darius III, Codomanus	336–331
Conquered by Alexander	331

II. *The earlier Seleucidae.*

The Empire of the Seleucidae over Syria and Babylon founded by Seleucus I, Nicator	312–280
Antiochus I, Soter	279–261
Antiochus II, Theos	261–246
Seleucus II, Callinicus	246–226
Seleucus III, Ceraunus	226–223
Antiochus III, the Great	222–187
Seleucus IV, Philopator	186–176
Antiochus IV, Epiphanes	175–164

III. *The earlier Ptolemies.*

	B. C.
Ptolemy I, Soter, became ruler of Egypt	322–285
Ptolemy II, Philadelphus	285–247
Ptolemy III, Euergetes I	247–222
Ptolemy IV, Philopator	222–205
Ptolemy V, Epiphanes	205–182
Ptolemy [VI], Eupator	182
Ptolemy VI [VII], Philometor, sole king	182–170
Ptolemy Philometor Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II reigning conjointly	170–164
Ptolemy Philometor, sole king	164–146

IV. *Events in Jewish history from the time of Jehoiakim to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.*

	B. C.
Jehoiakim rebels against Nebuchadnezzar. Judea laid waste by the inroads of hostile nations including the Chaldaeans (2 Kings xxiv. 1–4). [According to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7 Nebuchadnezzar himself invades Judea, and carries off Jehoiakim and some of the vessels of the Temple to Babylon—a tradition thus existed as early as 300 B.C. which in part forms the basis of Dan. i. 1, 2]	602
Jehoiakim carried captive to Babylon with all the sacred vessels of the Temple	597
Captivity of Zedekiah and destruction of Jerusalem	586
First return of exiles under Cyrus	538
Second return with Ezra	458
Conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great	332
Struggle between Ptolemy I and Antigonus over the possession of Palestine, which results in Palestine becoming a province of Egypt for nearly 100 years	301
The marriage of Antiochus II with Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy II (Dan. xi. 6)	248

	B.C.
Fresh wars between Ptolemy III and Seleucus II (Dan. xi. 7 sqq.)	246
Antiochus III makes himself master of Palestine but is forced to retire from it through his defeat at Raphia by Ptolemy IV	217
Conquest of Palestine by Antiochus III	202
Despite the attempts of Egypt (200 B.C.) this conquest maintained (Dan. xi. 13 sqq.)	198
Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III, married to Ptolemy V (Dan. xi. 17)	197
Seleucus IV, acting on information given by Simon, who was at strife with the High Priest Onias III, attempts to make himself master of the Temple treasures through his chief minister Heliodorus (Dan. xi. 20)	176
Accession of Antiochus IV to the throne of Syria (Dan. vii. 8, 11, 20, viii. 9, 23, xi. 21)	176
The High Priest, Onias III, leader of the Chasidim, deposed by Antiochus, and his brother Jason, the leader of the hellenizing Jews, appointed in his stead	175
Jason deposed in favour of Menelaus and Onias III murdered at the instigation of the latter (Dan. ix. 26, xi. 22, 1 Enoch xc. 8, 2 Macc. iv. 33–5)	171
Antiochus IV invades Egypt in a campaign, the first stage of which ended with the victory near Pelusium, and the second with the conquest of Egypt (Dan. xi. 25–7, 1 Macc. i. 16–19). Jason having in the meantime reinstated himself in Jerusalem by force, Antiochus on his return from Egypt expels him, plunders the Temple, and massacres many Jews (Dan. viii. 9^{b}–10, xi. 28, 1 Macc. i. 21–28)	170
Antiochus, making his second expedition against Egypt, obliged to retire before the Roman legate Popilius Laenas, and to give up his claims on the country	169

	B.C.
Jerusalem taken by surprise by Apollonius on the Sabbath day, many Jews slaughtered or driven into exile, and a Syrian garrison established in the citadel. The complete suppression of the Jewish religion ordered by Antiochus. The observance of the Sabbath and circumcision forbidden. Books of the Law burnt, the daily sacrifice abolished, and a heathen altar, i.e. 'The Abomination of Desolation,' set up in the Temple on the 15th of Chisleu (December) 168 (Dan. vii. 21, 24^{b}, 25, viii. 11, 12, 13^{b}, 24, 25, ix. 26^{b}, 27^{a}, xi. 30^{b}–35, xii. 1, 7, 11) .	169–168
The revolt of the Jews against Antiochus under Mattathias and his sons (Dan. xi. 37, 1 Enoch xc. 9 sqq., 1 Macc. ii)	167
The death of Mattathias. Judas his son defeats and slays the Syrian generals Apollonius and Seron (1 Macc. iii. 1–24), and subsequently routs Gorgias at Emmaus (1 Macc. iii. 25–iv. 27), and Lysias at Beth-Zur (1 Macc. iv. 28–35) .	166–165
Recovery of Jerusalem, with the exception of the citadel. The cleansing and rededication of the Temple on the 25th of Chisleu, three years and ten days after its desecration. Successful invasion of Edomites, Ammonites, Philistines, and other Gentile nations (1 Macc. v) . . .	165
Antiochus, owing to lack of money, attempts to pillage a temple in Elymais in Persia, but is beaten off by the inhabitants of the town, and soon afterwards dies at Taboe in that same country (Dan. vii. 11, 26, viii. 14^{b}, 25, ix. 26^{b}, 27^{b}, xi. 45^{b}, xii. 7, 11, 12) . . .	164

§ 11. THEOLOGY.

Although this book is the forerunner and herald of most subsequent apocalyptic developments, it is not by any means the earliest. Its outlook, moreover, is in the main confined to this world. Its hopes are directed, not to the after-world, with its retributions for the individual, but to the setting up of a world-empire of Israel which is to displace the heathen, to a Messianic kingdom on earth. Accordingly, it extends neither promise nor threatening to *the individual as such*, but only to those individuals who have *in an extraordinary degree* helped or hindered the advent of this kingdom. To the former, the martyrs, the great saints, and teachers (xii. 2), it holds forth the blessedness of a resurrection to life; to the latter, the Jewish apostate, it proclaims a resurrection to shame and everlasting contempt, i.e. to Gehenna. As for the majority of the nation, who are neither over-much righteous nor over-much wicked, their lot is of no concern to the kingdom, and Sheol remains their eternal abode. Sheol, which is called the land of dust (xii. 2), retains its O.T. heathen character as a non-moral region. It thus possesses a peculiar character in our author. It is the *intermediate* abode of the very good and of the very bad in Israel, and the *eternal* abode of the rest of Israel and of all the Gentiles. The eschatological outlook of the individual is very imperfectly conceived, or at all events very imperfectly delineated. For we might ask, are the risen righteous to live for ever in the Messianic kingdom? The supernatural character of the kingdom would point to this (cf. vii. 17, 18), and yet the description in vii. 17, where the continued existence of 'the peoples, nations, and languages' as subject to this kingdom is difficult to reconcile with the immortality of the individual righteous upon the earth, though it is quite reconcilable with the eternity of the Messianic kingdom.

We have, however, overlooked the manner in which the kingdom is to be introduced. It is to be catastrophic. When evil reaches its culmination, and the need of the saints is greatest (vii. 21, 22, xii. 1), when the Antichrist in the person of Antiochus Epiphanes is warring down the saints, God Himself will intervene, and the throne of judgement be set up (vii. 9), and the world powers overthrown (vii. 11, 12), and the kingdom of the saints shall be set up, which shall break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms of the world and make them subject (ii. 44), and all the surviving nations shall serve them. It is to this kingdom that the righteous, of whom we have already spoken, shall rise.

The writer of this book uses the belief in the angelic patrons of the nations to explain the national reverses, and likewise the delay in the establishment of the Messianic kingdom. Persia has its angelic guardian (x. 13, 20), and likewise Greece (x. 20), while the patron angel of Israel is Michael (x. 21, xii. 1).

The writer's use of this conception implies that the real successes and reverses of Israel are already achieved in heaven according to the varying fortunes of the angelic encounters. It is difficult to reconcile this conception with that of the triumphant kingdom of the saints and the final judgement executed by God in chapter vii. 26.

Attention might be called to the following points: The frequent condemnation of idolatry in chapters iii and v, the rules as to clean and unclean food (i. 8–16), the giving of alms and good works (iv. 27), the Bath-Kol (iv. 31), or voice from heaven (iv. 28), the three hours of prayer (vi. 10).

§ 12. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

During the first eighteen centuries of the Christian era the authenticity and integrity of the Book of Daniel were assumed as a matter of course, except in the twelfth Book of Porphyry's *Treatise against the Christians* (κατὰ Χριστιανῶν). Porphyry was a neo-Platonic philosopher, and lived about the years A.D. 233–304. One division of this work was intended to prove that the Book of Daniel was written by a Palestinian Jew in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. He pointed out that the prophecies of Daniel are a correct record of events till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but from that date onwards they were simply guesses. This theory of Porphyry was in the opinion of his contemporaries and of subsequent generations so successfully refuted by the counter-treatises of Jerome, Methodius, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Apollinaris, that it was not fully revived till the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century Sir Isaac Newton in a work on Daniel and Revelation expressly states that to reject Daniel's prophecies 'is to reject the Christian religion.' It is true, however, that Collins (*The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*, 1726) argued for the Maccabean date of the book, but apparently for the time without result.

The first serious work to do justice to the historical problems of the book was that of Bertholdt (*Daniel neu übersetzt und erklärt*). His hypothesis, however, of several distinct authors drew upon him the adverse criticism of Gesenius, Bleek, and De Wette, who, however, accepted the Maccabean date.

Since the time of the last-mentioned works practically all the foremost scholars have maintained the unity of the work, and at the same time its Maccabean date. The upholders, of course, of ecclesiastical tradition laboured hard to maintain the asserted early date of the work. The chief writers of this class during the nineteenth century were Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Auberlen, and in our own country Pusey. These and subsequent scholars, not only of this school but of their opponents, laboured under a complete misapprehension of the nature of the Apocalyptic. This appears in all their works, as the following passage from Pusey typical of the orthodox school amply proves: 'The Book of Daniel . . . is either divine or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and to give it out to be his, is, in any case, a forgery, dishonest in itself, and destructive of all trustworthiness. But the case as to the Book of Daniel, if it were not his, would go far even beyond this. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered. . . . In a word, the whole book would be one lie in the name of God.' See § 3.

But the ultra standpoint of Pusey was not maintained by all the so-called defenders of Daniel, and a whole series of writers adopted an intermediate course, and sought to reconcile the statements of the text with the results of historical criticism. The latest representative of this school has been C. H. H. Wright.

The chief Commentaries for the last sixty years have been: F. Hitzig (in the *Kgf. Handb.*), 1850; H. Ewald in *Die Proph. des AB.s*[2] (1886), iii. 298 ff. (in transl., v. 152 ff.); E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*[3], 1869; Keil, 1869; O. Zöckler, 1869; Fuller in the *Speaker's Commentary*, 1876; Meinhold, 1889; Bevan, 1892 (very original); Behrmann, 1894; Farrar (*Expositor's Bible*), 1895; Prince, 1899; Driver (*Cambridge Bible*), 1900 (very learned); Marti, 1901; Jahn, *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt*, 1904—a suggestive but very extravagant work; C. H. H. Wright, *Daniel and its Critics* and *Daniel and his Prophecies*, 1906.

Special treatises and articles: Cornill, 'Die siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels' in *Theol. Stud. u. Skizzen*, 1889; Kamphausen, *Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung*, 1893; Von Gall, *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel*, 1895.

The Versions: Bludau, *Die Alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Daniel und ihr Verhältniss zum Massorethischen Text*, 1897. This is a valuable contribution. A very much slighter work with a few good suggestions is Riessler's *Das Buch Daniel*, 1899

Besides the above works the reader will find valuable material in the O. T. introductions of Driver, Cornill, König, &c. A very full bibliography covering the whole field is to be found in C. H. H. Wright, *Daniel and its Critics*, pp. xviii-xxxvii.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of 1
Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jeru-

i. The object of this chapter is to enforce loyalty to the Law: to set forth the principles of a right education, i. e. obedience to the prescripts of the Law. The young so educated will be best alike in body (ver. 15) and in mind (ver. 20), and best fitted to face the evils of their time. Even when the ultimate trial of their faith comes upon them, as in chap. iii, they will be able to meet it without fear and without flinching.

1. In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, &c. According to 2 Kings xxiii. 36 Jehoiakim reigned eleven years, i. e. 608-597 B.C. Of his transportation to Babylon in the third year of his reign, or even in the eleventh, there is no hint in the Book of Kings, nor yet in the first five years of his reign in Jeremiah. In Jeremiah xxv. 1 it is stated that Nebuchadnezzar became king in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, and in verses 9-12 of that same chapter, which deal with the fourth year of Jehoiakim, there is not the slightest implication of such an invasion of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, nor yet in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, see Jer. xxxvi. 9, 29. Moreover, in Berosus' account of Nebuchadnezzar's campaign, *c.* 605 B.C., given by Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 1, there is no mention of any siege of Jerusalem.

The statement that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim seems, therefore, to be due to a wrong combination of 2 Kings xxiv. 1. 2 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7. The former passage tells how Jehoiakim became subject to Nebuchadnezzar for three years, and how his rebellion after three years was punished through the hands of the Chaldeans, Ammonites, Moabites, and Syrians, while the latter passage recounts the transportation of Jehoiakim in chains by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar, so the name is spelt uniformly throughout this book. In comparison with the Babylonian form *Nabu-kudurri-uṣur* (= 'Nebo protect the boundaries') the form in our text is inaccurate, compared with that in Ezekiel and generally in Jeremiah, 'Nebuchadrezzar[1].'

king of Babylon. Since Nabopolassar, the father of Nebu-

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[1] נבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר.

2 salem, and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of

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chadnezzar, did not die till the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxv. 1, xlvi. 2), the title here is used proleptically.

2. This verse is in part interpolated. The contextual evidence is against the originality of the phrase (1) 'to the house of his god' (see note *in loc.*), or rather against that of (2) 'to the house of his god and the vessels.' The Syro-hexaplaric Syriac marks the latter as an addition: the Chigi MS. might be quoted in favour of either view, but really supports Syr.^{h}. Hence the textual evidence here supports the contextual evidence. But accordingly as we accept (1) or (2) the resulting form of the text will vary considerably. Let us with Marti (and Driver) consider (1) first.

(1) If only the words 'to the house of his god' are interpolated then the text is *defective*, for the last clause, which should be translated 'and as for the vessels he brought (them) into the treasure house of his god,' implies that the text originally contained a reference to the captives (some of whom are actually specified in ver. 3) and the booty carried off by Nebuchadnezzar. Hence the verse should be rendered as follows, the clause in brackets being of course a purely hypothetical restoration (by Ewald): 'And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand ⟨and the noblest of the land⟩ and part of the vessels of the house of God; and he carried them into the land of Shinar. And as for the vessels he brought (them) into the treasure house of his god.' The last clause of this verse tells what the king did with the vessels of the Temple: the next two verses give the king's commands with regard to some of the noblest of the captives.

(2) If the larger phrase is an interpolation the problem is less complex. We should then translate: 'And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, and part of the vessels of the house of God; and he carried them into the land of Shinar, ⟨and⟩ he brought them into the treasure house of his god.' In this case the writer concerns himself wholly with the overthrow of the king and the deportation of the sacred vessels to Babylon, as 1 Esdras i. 40, 41, 45, 54, ii. 10, vi. 18, 26, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7, although other captives and booty must have been taken. These parallel accounts undoubtedly support this shorter form of the text.

the Lord, i.e. Adonai. This designation of God is used only here and in ch. ix. 3 (note).

with part of the vessels. Nebuchadnezzar raided the Temple three times: first in Jehoiakim's reign, when he took part of the vessels (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7), as in our text; secondly, in Jehoiachin's reign (2 Chron. xxxvi. 10); and finally in Zedekiah's the house of God; and he carried them into the land of Shinar to the house of his god: and he brought the

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reign (ibid. xxxvi. 18–19). In 2 Kings xxiv. sq. there is no mention of the king taking the sacred vessels of the Temple in Jehoiakim's reign, though his plundering of the Temple and Jerusalem in Jehoiachin's reign is recounted at length in xxiv. 12–16.

the house of God. This is the usual name for the Temple in post-exilic writers, but it is once applied to the sanctuary in Shiloh (Judg. xviii. 31). In the earlier books the expression 'house of Yahweh' was always used. Our text avoids the use of this divine name, as do other late books.

carried them. If we retain the words 'the vessels' in the following clause, the pronoun here must embrace not only the vessels, but the captives and all the booty taken by Nebuchadnezzar. If we refer it only to the Temple vessels we cannot explain the words 'the vessels' in the next clause. Instead of 'the vessels' we should have expected only 'them.' Moreover, these words are placed in the most emphatic position in the clause, 'and as for the vessels he brought, &c.' If, then, the words 'the vessels' are original and in their original position, this clearly implied that something other than vessels, i.e. captives, &c., was dealt with in the preceding clause. But, if with Syr.^{h} and the LXX we reject them, then the pronoun refers only to the sacred vessels.

into the land of Shinar. Shinar, or rather Shinʿar, is mentioned eight times: Gen. x. 10, xi. 2, xiv. 1, 9, Joshua vii. 21, Isa. xi. 11, Zech. v. 11, Dan. i. 2, and stands for Babylon in the O.T. It has not, however, been found in the Inscriptions. Various attempts at its identification will be found in the Bible Dictionaries. The word is an archaism. In the LXX the words 'to Babylon' are inserted. They may be an explanatory gloss (?). In exilic times and later writers spoke of Babylonia as 'the land of Babylon,' Jer. li. 29, or 'the land of the Chaldeans,' Ezek. xii. 13. The LXX here reads 'to Babylon, to the land of Shinar,' and Syr.^{h} 'to Babylon.'

[**to the house of his god.**] This phrase was omitted in the LXX, as is clear from the evidence of the LXX and the Syr.^{h}. The context also is against its genuineness, as Marti and Driver recognize, though the latter admits it to be possible. The captives and the booty in general were not placed in the heathen temple. Marti takes the phrase to be a gloss on the words 'the treasure house of his god' in the next clause, which was subsequently transposed wrongly into its present position. See note on 'the treasure house of his god.'

and he brought the vessels. Read 'and as for the vessels

3 vessels into the treasure house of his god. And the king
spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs, that he
should bring in *certain* of the children of Israel, even of
4 the seed royal and of the nobles; youths in whom was

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he brought (them)'—that is, if we follow the Massoretic text. But it is best to read with the LXX: 'and he set them up' (καὶ ἀπηρείσατο αὐτά). The Greek verb in the LXX occurs three times in 1 Esdras i. 41, ii. 10, vi. 18 in this very same connexion. The parallel passages in the O.T. to these passages are respectively 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7, Ezra i. 7, v. 14.

into the treasure house of his god. The statement in our text is confirmed by Ezra i. 7, v. 14, 1 Esdras i. 41, ii. 10, vi. 18: but the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon states that in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7 *hêkal* is to be rendered 'palace' and not 'temple.' But the LXX renders it *naos* (= 'temple'), and carries with it the entire tradition connected with the question.

3-5. Nebuchadnezzar commands Ashpenaz to have educated for the king's service certain youths of the Jewish captivity, belonging both to the royal family and the nobility.

3. spake unto, rather 'commanded,' as in ver. 18. The Hebrew word is literally 'said.'

Ashpenaz. So also Theodotion. In Jos. *Ant.* x. 10. 2 the name appears as 'Aschanes' (Ἀσχάνης). No explanation of this name has yet been given by Assyriologists. It is probably corrupt. The LXX gives 'Abiesdri' (Ἀβιεσδρί). The *d* is here parasitic, as in 'Esdras.' Hence 'Abiezer,' which is preserved in Syr.^{h}, is the form presupposed by the LXX.

master of his eunuchs. The expression *rab sarisim* here instead of *sar sarisim*, 'prince of the eunuchs,' as in verses 7, 11, is characteristic of later Hebrew. Eunuchs were employed in Oriental courts as the chief officers of the king. But the word *saris* does not always mean eunuch. We might compare the title 'Rabsaris' in 2 Kings xviii. 17.

children of Israel. We should probably with the LXX read 'children of the princes of Israel.' Theod. presupposes a text that is a corruption of the original of the LXX.

even of the seed royal. This rendering 'even of the seed royal' implies that both the members of the royal family and the nobles were Israelites, which seems right.

nobles. The Hebrew *part^{e}mim*, found elsewhere in the O.T. in Esther i. 3, vi. 9, is probably a Persian loan-word: cf. *fratama* = 'first': and the Sanskrit *prathama.* πρῶτος is akin philologically to these words.

no blemish, but well favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability to stand in the king's palace; and that he should teach them the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans. And the king appointed for 5

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4. no blemish. The perfection here asserted is physical, as in Lev. xxi. 17. Such perfection could not belong to eunuchs.

cunning. This is simply an archaism for 'knowing.'

science. The word *madda'* is borrowed from the Aramaic, but is found also in Chronicles and Ecclesiastes.

learning. Render 'literature,' as also in i. 17. The Hebrew is *sepher*. Both Greek versions render *γράμματα*.

the tongue of the Chaldaeans. The term 'Chaldaeans' (Hebrew, *Kasdîm*: Greek Χαλδαῖοι) has two meanings in Daniel.

1°. *It has an ethnic significance* in v. 30, ix. 1. The Chaldaeans are frequently referred to in the Inscriptions from the ninth century onwards. They lived originally to the SE. of Babylonia proper in the land of Kaldu, bordering on the Persian Gulf (Strabo xvi. 1. 6). Being a vigorous nation they pressed steadily inland into Babylonia, and despite their repeated defeats by the Assyrians they so far gained the upper hand as to make a temporary conquest of Babylon under Merodach-baladan in 721. For the next hundred years the Chaldaeans and Assyrians were constantly at war and it was not till the reign of Nabopolassar (625–605), the father of Nebuchadnezzar, that the Chaldaean dynasty was firmly established in Babylon. This dynasty held the throne till the conquest of Babylon under Cyrus in 538 B. C.

For this ethnic use of the term compare Isa. xliii. 14, xlviii. 14, 20, Jer. xxi. 9, Ezek. xxiii. 14, 15, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.

2°. *It denotes a caste of wise men* in i. 4, ii. 2, 4, 5, 10, iv. 7, v. 7, 11, and probably in iii. 8. As the Chaldaean became synonymous ethnically with the Babylonian from the time of Nabopolassar, so after the Persian conquest the term began to be a designation of the Babylonian literati and a synonym for soothsayer, magician, astronomer, and astrologer. Of this meaning of the word there is not a trace in the Inscriptions: it is first found in Herod. i. 181, 183 (fifth century B. C.). In Strabo xvi. 1. 6 (first century B. C.) the Chaldaeans are mentioned in both meanings of the term: first as a tribe living in the ancient home of the race on the Persian Gulf, and secondly as a class of learned men who lived in a certain quarter reserved for them in Babylon and devoted themselves to the study of astronomy. A fuller account is given in Diodorus Siculus ii. 29, which describes them as priests, wise men, diviners, astrologers, and magicians. But

them a daily portion of the king's [a] meat, and of the wine
which he drank, and that they should be nourished three
years; that at the end thereof they might stand before
6 the king. Now among these were, of the children of
7 Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. And

[a] Or, *dainties*

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though this meaning of the term Chaldaean was comparatively late in origin, the practice of divination and astrology, such as our text refers to the Chaldaeans, belongs to the earliest antiquity. That the study of dreams and their interpretation had been elaborated as early as 3000 B. C. has been shown by King (*Hist. of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, pp. 124, 266). In 2800 B.C. divination by oil was practised, and the observation of omens in the later Sumerian period. 'The texts relating to soothsaying and exorcism are so exceedingly numerous as to form the chief component of the whole Babylonian religious literature' (Zimmern in Hastings, *DRE*., ii. 316). Thus the Chaldaean wise men of Babylon simply took over the functions of the priestly soothsayers, diviners, and astrologers which had been practised in Babylonia from prehistoric times. On the names given to the various members of this caste see the note on ii. 2.

5. a daily portion of the king's meat (or 'dainties'). A yearly portion is mentioned in 1 Kings x. 25, 2 Chron. ix. 24. The word rendered 'dainties' is a Persian loan-word, *patibaga*, signifying 'portion,' 'offering,' from the Sanskrit *prati-bhâga*. This word was transliterated into Greek as ποτίβαζις, which, according to a fragment of Dinon's *Persica* (*c*. 340 B. C.), preserved in Athenaeus xi. 503, consisted of a meal of barley or wheaten cakes and wine.

three years. According to Plato, *Alk*. i. § 37, the education of the chosen youths under the royal teachers began at the age of fourteen. For the previous seven years they had been trained to ride and hunt. At the age of seventeen they entered the king's service (Xen. *Cyr*. i. 2).

they might stand before the king, i. e. serve him. Cf. ver. 19, Deut. i. 38, &c. But the text of the LXX seems preferable: 'that he might present them before the king.' Not until they had been approved by the king were they admitted to his service.

6-7. These verses introduce the four young nobles of the tribe of Judah with whom the following narratives are mainly concerned.

6. Daniel. Three other Daniels are mentioned in the OT.:

the prince of the eunuchs gave names unto them: unto Daniel he gave *the name of* Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, *of* Shadrach; and to Mishael, *of* Meshach; and to Azariah, *of* Abed-nego. But Daniel purposed in his 8

1° the Patriarch in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3, who, from his juxtaposition with Noah and Job, cannot be the Daniel of our narrative who was a mere boy at the time of the Exile; 2° a son of David, 1 Chron. iii. 1; 3° a certain Levite, Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 6.

Mishael. This name (see Exod. vi. 22, Lev. x. 4), which signifies 'who is what God is,' is identical in meaning with Michael.

7. It was not unusual for the names of individuals to be changed on the occasion of some change in their position or circumstances. See Gen. xli. 45, Ruth i. 20, 2 Kings xxiii. 34, xxiv. 17, and especially Acts xiii. 9.

he gave. Better omit with the two Greek versions.

Belteshazzar. This name, which recurs in ii. 26, iv. 8, 9, 18, 19, v. 12, x. 1, is not to be confounded with Belshazzar in v. 1 (where see note) as is done in the LXX, Theod., and Vulgate. Belteshazzar = *balāṭšu-uṣur*, 'protect his life.' The wrong vocalization led to the finding of the name of Bel in this proper name. See iv. 8.

Shadrach. This name is said by F. Delitzsch to be the equivalent of Shudur-aku, 'the command of Aku,' i. e. the moon-deity Sin. Jahn thinks that it is corrupt for 'Marduk.'

Meshach. The explanation of this word by F. Delitzsch is not very probable. He regards it as a hybrid word partly of Hebrew and partly of Babylonian origin, Mî-sha-Aku, 'who is what Aku is.' With this we might compare Mishael in ver. 6.

Abed-nego, a corruption of 'Abed-nebo,' 'servant of Nebo.' The more usual form would be 'Amel-Nebo,' but 'Abed' or 'Abd' is found, as a glance at the index in Schrader's *KAT.*³ will prove. Bevan notes that long after the Christian era 'this name was borne by heathen Syrians (Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 14 of the Syriac text, line 5).

8–16. Loyalty of Daniel and his companions to their religion, and their consequent superiority physically to the other youths that were being educated with a view to the king's service.

8–10. The loyalty of Daniel and his companions was shown in their observance of the laws of their religion regarding clean and unclean meats. The need of this loyalty was felt to be of supreme moment in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who was exerting all his power to hellenize the Jews. To eat of unlawful food in

heart that he would not defile himself with the king's
meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he
requested of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not
9 defile himself. Now God made Daniel to find favour
and compassion in the sight of the prince of the eunuchs.
10 And the prince of the eunuchs said unto Daniel, I fear
my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and
your drink: for why should he see your faces worse
liking than the youths which are of your own age? so

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such circumstances was as sinful as idolatry itself. Hence the faithful had to abstain from the food of the heathen, not only because the Levitical laws as to clean and unclean animals were not observed by the heathen in the selection and preparation of their food, but also because the food so prepared may have been offered in sacrifice to idols (Exod. xxxiv. 15, Acts xv. 29, xxi. 25: also v. 4 in our text, Deut. xxxii. 38). Thus the observance of these laws, though seen later to be only of temporary obligation, became an *articulus ecclesiae stantis aut cadentis* under Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 47, 48, 62, 63, 2 Macc. vi. 18 sqq., vii. 1). Hence in our text Daniel and his friends confined themselves to vegetable products. But generally in heathen surroundings these laws were rigidly carried out by the faithful Jew; cf. Tobit i. 10, 11, Judith xii. 1, 2, *Vita Ioseph.* 3. In this last passage it is told how certain priests that were sent to Rome limited their food on religious grounds to figs and nuts.

8. purposed in his heart. Cf. Isa. lvii. 1, 11.

9. God made Daniel to find . . . compassion, &c. Practically the same diction is found in 1 Kings viii. 50, Neh. i. 11, Ps. cvi. 46. This verse explains the kindness of the Chief Eunuch.

10. for why. The Aramaism here (cf. Ezra vii. 23 and the Syriac *dalmâ*) should be rendered 'lest' as in the two Greek versions.

worse liking. The Hebrew word *zô'aphîm* is used elsewhere in the O.T. in the sense of mental dejection (Gen. xl. 6, Prov. xix. 3, 2 Chron. xxvi. 19). So also the cognate adjective 1 Kings xx. 43. Theod. renders it here by *σκυθρωπά* (cf. Matt. vi. 16). But the LXX and Josephus, *Ant.* x. 10. 2, presuppose a different Hebrew word altogether, and possibly rightly.

age. The word *gîl* is borrowed from the Aramaic and corresponds to the Hebrew *dôr*. It is found in the Samaritan of Gen. vi. 9, xv. 16 and in the Talmud.

should ye endanger my head with the king. Then said 11
Daniel to [a] the steward, whom the prince of the eunuchs
had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and
Azariah: Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days; 12
and let them give us [b] pulse to eat, and water to drink.
Then let our countenances be looked upon before thee, 13
and the countenance of the youths that eat of the king's
meat; and as thou seest, deal with thy servants. So he 14
hearkened unto them in this matter, and proved them
ten days. And at the end of ten days their countenances 15
appeared fairer, and they were fatter in flesh, than all the
youths which did eat of the king's meat. So [a] the steward 16
took away their meat, and the wine that they should
drink, and gave them pulse. Now as for these four 17

[a] Heb. *Hammelzar*. [b] Or, *herbs*

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endanger my head. The word *ḥiyyêb* is late Hebrew or Aramaic, and occurs only here, since Ezek. xviii. 7 is regarded as a corruption.

11. Then said Daniel to the steward, &c. The word 'melṣar' rendered 'steward' occurs only in this chapter. No satisfactory explanation of the word has yet been given. If the text is original the steward is a subordinate official set over Daniel and his companions. But the LXX reads here Abiesdri, and thus identifies the person here mentioned with the chief of the eunuchs in verses 3, 11, 18. It presupposes also a different vocalization of the verb, and reads as follows: 'Then said D. to Abiesdri, the chief of the eunuchs, who was set over, &c.'

12. ten: a round number: cf. ver. 20, Zech. viii. 23.

pulse, i.e. vegetable food.

13. meat, rather 'dainties.' See ver. 5.

15. fatter in flesh. This expression is used in Gen. xli. 2 of the fat kine in Pharaoh's dream.

16. the steward. See ver. 11.

took away . . . and gave, rather 'continued taking away . . . and giving.' See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 135, 5.

17-19. At the end of the three years Daniel and his three companions, who are found to be superior in knowledge and wisdom to the other youths that were educated with them, are appointed to serve upon the king.

youths, God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom: and Daniel had understanding in all
18 visions and dreams. And at the end of the days which
the king had [a] appointed for bringing them in, the prince
of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar.
19 And the king communed with them; and among them
all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and
20 Azariah: therefore stood they before the king. And in

[a] Heb. *said.*

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17. knowledge. The same word is rendered 'science' in ver. 4.

in all learning. Better 'in all literature' (cf. ver. 4) or in all kinds of books.

wisdom. As Driver observes, 'wisdom is used here, in a concrete sense, of an intelligently arranged body of principles, or, as we should now say, *science.* The term must be understood as representing the popular estimate of the subjects referred to: for the "wisdom" of the Chaldean priests, except in so far as it took cognizance of the actual facts of astronomy, was in reality nothing but "a systematized superstition."'

in all visions, rather 'in all kinds of visions.' These words serve to introduce the narrative that follows.

18. Not only the four Jewish youths but all the young men that had been trained for the king's service were brought before the king.

19. communed, literally 'talked' or 'spake.'

stood they before the king, i.e. became his personal servants: cf. ver. 5.

20–21. These verses come in haltingly after the last words of ver. 19, which forms the natural close of the introduction of the book, 'therefore stood they before the king.' Marti rejects them as a later addition on the ground that ver. 20, ignoring v. 19^{b}, resumes the subject of v. 19^{a}, and introduces to the detriment of the context an explanation of v. 19^{b} which is really an anticipation of that which first comes to light in chap. ii. It is a disturbing addition; for if the king had found the Jewish youths *ten times wiser than all the sages of Babylon* he would naturally have consulted them before the wise men of Babylon, and not have waited till, in ii. 16, they volunteered their help. Even if he had consulted the Babylonian sages first as a matter of policy, he would not, when they proved helpless, have failed to consult the Jewish every matter of wisdom and understanding, concerning which the king inquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters that were in all his realm. And Daniel continued even unto 21 the first year of king Cyrus.

And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchad- 2

youths who were ten times wiser than they. Hence our author, who represents the king as giving orders for the destruction of all the wise men, Daniel and his companions being amongst the number in ii. 12-13, could not have written i. 20-21. Such an order could only have been issued when the chiefest of the wise men of Babylon had failed.

20. of wisdom and understanding. So LXX, Theod., and Vulg. The Hebrew reads 'of the wisdom of understanding.'

ten times. Cf. Gen. xliii. 34.

magicians and enchanters. See note on ii. 2. Nearly all the Hebrew MSS. omit the 'and,' but it is found in the LXX, Theod., and Vulg.

21. continued even unto. The Hebrew = 'was unto' is very unusual. Since Daniel was living in the third year of Cyrus, according to x. 1, it is clear that the words here must be interpreted in the sense that Daniel lived at the court until (Heb. *'ad*) the first year of Cyrus, and that no notice is taken of his time beyond that date; cf. *'ad* in Ps. cx. 1, cxii. 8, &c. Ewald suggests that the words 'at the king's court' have been lost. The words seem to imply that Daniel lived to the beginning of the new era initiated by Cyrus, who permitted the Jews to return to Palestine (Ezra i. 1, v. 13, vi. 3). If, as it appears, i. 20-21 are a later addition, the glosser may have already found in xi. 1 the words 'in the first year of Cyrus' (so LXX and Theod.), and from thence drawn his data (Barton).

the first year of king Cyrus. The year designed here is the first year of Cyrus' reign as king of Babylon in 538 B.C., the seventieth year after the date of Daniel's captivity.

Cyrus. In Hebrew the word is *Kōresh*, in Persian *Kuru-sh*, in Babylonian *Kurâsh*.

ii. This chapter has a didactic purpose. As in chapter i the Jews are exhorted to be true to the Law, even to its ceremonial requirements, so in this chapter they are encouraged to hold fast to the national hope of the Messianic kingdom. To justify their belief in this expectation the superiority of the wisdom of the Jews above that of the heathen is shown in the incidents connected nezzar Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams; and his spirit

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with the king's dream and its interpretation. The wisdom thus triumphant is shown to spring from the direct revelation of the God of the Jews, and His supremacy above all gods is accordingly acknowledged by the king. In the dream the succession of the world empires is foreshadowed, and, as these had risen in the order foreshadowed in his dream and its interpretation, the Jews were assured of the certainty of the coming kingdom.

The narrative in many respects recalls Gen. xli. In both accounts a heathen king is visited by a dream which alarms him: in both he sends for his magicians, but they prove helpless: in both a youthful Jew, who ascribed his wisdom wholly to the help of this God, gives the true interpretation, and is raised to the highest honours. For similarities in point of diction, cf. verses 1, 2, 30.

1-2. Troubled by a dream Nebuchadnezzar summoned his wise men to make known to him the dream he had dreamed, and also its interpretation.

1. in the second year. The events that follow are said to have occurred in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar. In order to bring this statement into harmony with that of the 'three years' in i. 5, 18 various hypotheses have been advanced. 1°. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 10. 3) explains the two years as 'two years after the sack of Egypt.' 2°. Hengstenberg and others assume that in i. 1 and Jer. xxv. 1 Nebuchadnezzar was reigning conjointly with his father Nabopolassar, and that the second year in the text is the second year after Nabopolassar's death. 3°. Ewald, Marti, and others suppose that 'ten' dropped out after 'two,' as in Joshua xxiv. 12, and that thus the original text was 'in the twelfth year.' 4°. Driver ingeniously defends the text. 'There is not, perhaps, necessarily a contradiction here with the "three years" of i. 5, 18. By Hebrew usage fragments of time were reckoned as full units: thus Samaria, which was besieged from the fourth to the sixth year of Hezekiah, is said to have been taken "at the end" of three years (2 Kings xviii. 9, 10); and in Jer. xxxiv. 14 "at the end of seven years" means evidently when the seventh year has arrived (see also Mark viii. 31, &c.). If, now, the author, following a custom which was certainly sometimes adopted by Jewish writers, and which was general in Assyria and Babylonia, "postdated" the regnal years of a king, i. e. counted as his first year not the year of his accession but the first full year afterwards (see Art. *Chronology* in Hastings' *BD*., i. 400), and if further Nebuchadnezzar gave orders for tbe education of the Jewish youths in his accession year, the end of his "three years" of i. 5, 18 might be reckoned as falling within the king's second year.'

dreamed dreams. For the use of the plural where a sin-

was troubled, and his sleep brake from him. Then the 2
king commanded to call the magicians, and the enchanters, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to

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gular is meant we may compare iv. 5, vii. 1, &c., 'visions of my (his) head.' Theod. and the Vulg. render it by the singular, but the LXX has the plural. On oneiromancy or divination by dreams, see *Encyc. Bib.*, i. 1118; Hastings' *DRE.*, iv. 776.

his spirit was troubled. This expression, which recurs in ver. 3, is suggested by Gen. xli. 8.

his sleep † brake † from him. The Hebrew here literally means 'his sleep was done for him.' Twice the niphal of the verb 'to be' is found elsewhere as here, i. e. in viii. 27, Mic. ii. 4, but in both cases the text is doubtful. Both the LXX and Theod. support the Massoretic here: *ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.* But it is open to question whether this was the original reading of the LXX, since Syr.^{h}, which is a rendering of it, and Symmachus read *ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*—the actual words found in vi. 18 in Theod., where we have the Aramaic equivalent of what evidently stood originally in the Hebrew here, even to the idiomatic use of the preposition 'for him.' Hence we should, with Behrmann and others, read *nad^{e}da* = *ἀπέστη*, 'departed,' as in vi. 18, Gen. xxxi. 40, Esther vi. 1. 'For him,' literally, 'in regard to him.'

2. to call the magicians. Here, as in the preceding sentence, the diction of Gen. xli. 8 is used.

the magicians, &c. There are six words used in our text as designations of magicians or diviners.

1°. **Chaldeans**[1], five times alone, i. 4 (probably in a general sense), ii. 4, 5, 10 *a*, iii. 8, and five times in conjunction with other terms, ii. 2, 10 *b*, iv. 7, v. 7, 11. See note on i. 4.

2°. **wise men**[2], eleven times alone, ii. 12, 13, 14, 18, 24 (twice), 48, iv. 6, 18, v. 7, 8, and twice in conjunction with other terms, ii. 27, v. 15.

3°. **enchanters**[3], eight times, and always in conjunction with other terms i. 20, ii. 2, 10, 27, iv. 7, v. 7, 11, 15. This is probably a Babylonian loan-word: in Assyrian *âšipu*, which according to Zimmern (*KAT.*^{3} 590, note 1) means 'the purifier.' This word is not found elsewhere in the O.T.

4°. **magicians**[4], once alone, iv. 9; and six times in conjunction with other terms, i. 20, ii. 2, 10 *b*, 27, iv. 7, v. 11. This word, which is of doubtful etymology, is used in Genesis and Exodus of Egyptian magicians.

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[1] *Χαλδαῖοι*, כשדים.   [2] חכימין   [3] אשפים.   [4] חרטמים

tell the king his dreams. So they came in and stood
3 before the king. And the king said unto them, I have
dreamed a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the
4 dream. Then spake the Chaldeans to the king [a] in the

[a] Or, *in Aramaic*

5°. **determiners**[1], four times, ii. 27, iv. 7, v. 7, 11. The meaning of this term is quite uncertain other than that it denotes a class which predicted the future. The R.V. renders it 'soothsayers.'

6°. **sorcerers**[2], only once in ii. 2: elsewhere in the O.T. five times as verb or noun.

Of the above terms the magicians, enchanters, and Chaldeans occur most frequently together, ii. 2, 10, iv. 7, v. 11. A comparison of all the passages in which the above six terms are found shows that they are used rather vaguely, and Lenormant's attempt to identify some of them with certain classes of diviners in Babylon is regarded as a complete failure.

3-11. The wise men required to tell the dream and its interpretation. They replied that they were ready to interpret the dream if the king recounted it to them, but that they could not do both.

3. The king had not forgotten his dream, but had determined to test his wise men by requiring them to tell both the dream and its interpretation. Behrmann mentions an exact parallel to our account in Ibn Hisham's *Leben Mohammeds* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 9 sq.), where a certain king of Yemen made this twofold demand on his wise men. They replied: 'Tell us the dream and we will declare unto you its interpretation.' Then said he: 'If I tell you the dream I cannot rely on your interpretation; for he, who knows not the dream before I communicate it to him, does not know its interpretation.

4. Then spake . . . in the Syrian language. For 'in the Syrian language' it is better to read 'in Aramaic.' The use of the word 'spake[3]' here is very unusual. If that which is said is given, *'amar* = 'said' is regularly used. Hence Marti, following Haupt, suggests that 'and said[4]' should be restored after the words 'to the king,' and that this phrase was displaced by 'in Aramaic[5].' But it is possible that in the latter word we have simply a misreading by some scribe of the former, the misreading being suggested by the fact that Aramaic did follow. In any case the words 'in Aramaic' should be bracketed as an intrusion. If they did not originate as I have suggested, then the explanation

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[1] גזרין.
[2] מכשפים, Assyr. *kašâpu*.
[3] ידברו.
[4] ויאמרו.
[5] ארמית.

Syrian language, [a] O king, live for ever: tell thy servants
the dream, and we will shew the interpretation. The 5
king answered and said to the Chaldeans, [b] The thing is
gone from me: if ye make not known unto me the

[a] Ch. ii. 4–vii. 28 is in Aramaic.

[b] Or, *The word is gone forth from me*

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of Oppert, Lenormant, and others should be accepted that 'in Aramaic' is a gloss, added as in Ezra iv. 7 to designate the idiom of the chapters that follow. This was the language in which ii. 4–vii. 28 were originally composed and this language was retained.

If the text meant to affirm (as it does in its present corrupt form) that Aramaic was used at court in official communications, the narrative in ch. vii would have been resumed in Hebrew, whereas it is continued in Aramaic. Jerome popularized in his *Commentary* this erroneous view that the wise men spake in Aramaic. Thence arose the false designation of Biblical Aramaic as 'Chaldee.' Biblical Aramaic belongs to the North Semitic branch, which was subdivided into (1) Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, which was used by the Christian Syrians, and is found in modified forms in the Babylonian Talmud and the sacred books of the Mandaeans. (2) Western or Palestinian Aramaic, which is found in Daniel ii. 4–vii, Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26, the Assuan Papyri, the Jewish Targums, and Palestinian Gemara.

The wise men of Babylon would have addressed the king in Babylonian or Assyrian, which is declared in Jer. v. 15, Isa. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 19 to be unintelligible to a Jew. Western Aramaic had displaced Hebrew wholly as the popular language in the second century B.C.

O king, live for ever. The usual mode of saluting Oriental kings. Cf. 1 Kings i. 31, Neh. ii. 3, Dan. iii. 9, v. 10, vi. 6. It had already been used at the Assyrian Court and subsequently prevailed amongst the Sassanidae.

5. The thing is gone from me, i. e. the matter has left my memory. This misrendering, found already in Theod. (ὁ λόγος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη and the Vulgate), is now generally regarded as wrong. The clause was omitted in the original LXX, but in Origen's text is supplied from Theod. between an asterisk and a metobelus. This rendering proceeded in the view that *'azad* was a dialectical variety of *'azal.* Two explanations are offered: 1°. According to Nöldeke (*KAT.*^{2} 617) *azda* is a Persian word meaning 'sure,' 'certain.' In this case we should render: 'The word from me is sure,' i. e. 'what I say will certainly be carried out.' Cf. iii. 14. 2°. According to Andreas (Marti's *Grammar,*

dream and the interpretation thereof, ye shall be cut in
6 pieces, and your houses shall be made a dunghill. But
if ye shew the dream and the interpretation thereof, ye
shall receive of me gifts and rewards and great honour:
therefore shew me the dream and the interpretation
7 thereof. They answered the second time and said, Let
the king tell his servants the dream, and we will shew the
8 interpretation. The king answered and said, I know of
a certainty that ye would [a] gain time, because ye see
9 [b] the thing is gone from me. But if ye make not known

[a] Aram. *buy the time.*

[b] Or, *the word is gone forth from me: that if &c.*

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p. 51) *azda* is a Middle-Persian word meaning 'news,' 'intelligence.' In this case the rendering would be: 'the word from me is news,' i.e. proclaimed. The former appears to be more satisfactory.

ye shall be cut in pieces, i.e. dismembered limb from limb. Cf. iii. 29 where the same phrase recurs and the LXX has *διαμελισθήσεται*, 2 Macc. i. 16 *μέλη ποιήσαντες*, Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8. 4 *μελιστὶ διελόντες προὔθεσαν κυσίν.* The word for 'limb' (*haddam*) is Persian, i.e. *andam*, in Zend *hañdâma.* By means of this punishment the condemned was deprived of the rights of burial. See passage just quoted from Josephus.

be made a dunghill. Cf. iii. 29, Ezra vi. 11. By this punishment the greatest disgrace was inflicted on the memory of the persons executed. Cf. 2 Kings x. 27, Ezra vi. 11.

6. rewards. This is a rare word—found only elsewhere in v. 17. It is derived from the Persian according to Andreas in the Glossary in Marti's *Grammar.*

7. the interpretation. Better with Theod., Pesh., and Vulg. read 'its interpretation.'

8. would gain time: lit. 'would buy time.' The LXX and Theod. render *καιρὸν ὑμεῖς ἐξαγοράζετε*, and the same phrase is found in Eph. v. 16, Col. iv. 5. But the sense is different. In our text the object is to temporize and defer the fatal moment: in St. Paul to utilize the present to the full.

the thing is gone from me. Rather 'the word from me is sure.' See note on ver. 5.

9. But if. These words (*di hên*) introduce the explanation of the last clause in ver. 8, and should be rendered 'that if': i.e. 'the word from me is sure that, if &c.'

unto me the dream, there is but one law for you: for ye
have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak before
me, till the time be changed: therefore tell me the
dream, and I shall know that ye can shew me the interpretation
thereof. The Chaldeans answered before the 10
king, and said, There is not a man upon the earth that
can shew the king's matter: forasmuch as no king, [a] lord,
nor ruler, hath asked such a thing of any magician, or
enchanter, or Chaldean. And it is a rare thing that the 11
king requireth, and there is none other that can shew it
before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not
with flesh. For this cause the king was angry and very 12
furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise men
of Babylon. So the decree went forth, and the wise men 13
were to be slain; and they sought Daniel and his companions
to be slain. Then Daniel returned answer with 14
counsel and prudence to Arioch the captain of the king's

[a] Or, be he never so *great and powerful*, *hath &c.*

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there is but one law for you, i.e. your punishment is inevitable. Omitted by the LXX and Theod. The word for law (*dath*) is Persian.

prepared, or 'agreed together.'

10. no king, lord, nor ruler. The Massoretic can also be rendered as in the margin. The LXX presupposes a different text: 'no king nor prince.'

11. rare, or 'difficult.' The LXX here gives a duplicate rendering of the Aramaic word, βαρὺς καὶ ἐπίδοξος.

requireth. Should be 'asketh,' as in ver. 10.

12–16. The king gives orders that all the wise men should be slain. The execution of this command is adjourned on the request of Daniel, who with his companions was regarded as belonging to the guild of wise men, and who promises to meet the king's demands if he is granted time.

13. the decree went forth. Theodotion's rendering is τὸ δόγμα ἐξῆλθε, which is almost identical with St. Luke's diction in Luke ii. 1.

14. returned answer with . . . prudence. Cf. Prov. xxvi. 16 for the same phrase in Hebrew.

Arioch. An ancient Babylonian name of the Sumerian period,

guard, which was gone forth to slay the wise men of
15 Babylon; he answered and said to Arioch the king's
captain, Wherefore is the decree so urgent from the
king? Then Arioch made the thing known to Daniel.
16 And Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he
would [a] appoint him a time, [b] and he would shew the king
the interpretation.

17 Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing
known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his com-
18 panions: that they would desire mercies of the God of
heaven concerning this secret; that Daniel and his
companions should not perish with the rest of the wise men
19 of Babylon. Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in

[a] Or, *give him time* [b] Or, *that he might*

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but not of the later (i.e. Nebuchadnezzar's) period, according to Sayce. It is found in Gen. xiv. 1, whence probably it has been borrowed both here and in Judith i. 6. It is said to be derived from Eri-Aku, 'servant of the Moon-god.'

captain of the king's guard. This expression is found in Gen. xxxvii. 36, xxxix. 1, 2 Kings xxv. 8 sqq., Jer. xxxix. 9 sqq. The word here rendered 'guard' or 'guardsmen' originally meant 'slaughterers' or 'butchers' (i.e. of animals). Some trace of this may remain in 1 Sam. ix. 23, 24, where, as in Arabic, it has the signification of 'cook.' In the present passage the LXX and Theod. follow this meaning, and render ἀρχιμάγειρος—a rendering found also in Jubilees xxxiv. 11, xxxix. 2.

15. urgent. Rather 'harsh.' The LXX renders πικρῶς, Theod. ἀναιδής.

16. and he would shew. Better render as in margin, and compare ii. 18 for the same idiom.

17–23. In answer to the prayers of Daniel and his companions the secret is revealed to him in a vision of the night, and thanksgiving is offered by him in a hymn for the mercy vouchsafed.

18. the God of heaven. Cf. vv. 19, 37, 44; Ezra i. 2, v. 11, 12, vi. 9, Neh. i. 4, 5, ii. 4, 20, 1 Enoch cvi. 5 (cf. xiii. 4), xiii. 4, Tob. x. 11, Judith v. 8, vi. 19, Rev. xi. 13, xvi. 11. This phrase is found in Gen. xxiv. 7, but after the Exile it became a favourite designation of God owing to the growing transcendence of Jewish thought regarding God. See note on iv. 26.

secret. *Raz* is a Persian loan-word.

a vision of the night. Then Daniel blessed the God of
heaven. Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name 20
of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are
his: and he changeth the times and the seasons: he 21

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19. vision of the night. Cf. Isa. xxix. 7.

20–23. We have here Daniel's hymn, consisting of a tristich (ver. 20), a tetrastich (ver. 21), a tristich (ver. 22), and a tetrastich (ver. 23). I have arranged the R.V. accordingly:

20. Blessed be the name of God
For ever and ever:
For wisdom and might are his:

21. And he changeth the times and the seasons:
He removeth kings, and setteth up kings:
He giveth wisdom unto the wise,
And knowledge to them that know understanding.

22. He revealeth the deep and secret things:
He knoweth what is in the darkness,
And the light dwelleth with him.

23. I thank and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers,
Who hast given me wisdom and might,
And hast now made known to me what we desired of thee;
For thou hast made known unto us the king's matter.

20. The first two lines of this stanza agree almost verbally with Pss. xli. 13, cvi. 48, and the third with Job xii. 13. These lines constitute most probably a familiar liturgical formulae.

answered and said. These words are used of the beginning of an address or hymn, as in iii. 9, 14, 16, &c.

the name, i. e. the revelation or manifestation of God.

for ever and ever. Better as in Ps. xli. 13 (R.V.), 'from everlasting to everlasting.'

wisdom and might are his. The wisdom and the might of God are the theme of the lines that follow. In ver. $21^{a\,b}$ the exhibition of God's might is represented, and in $21^{c\,d}$, 22 the instances of His wisdom. These divine attributes are in ver. 23 delegated to Daniel to meet the present difficulty, though it is difficult to see how the divine might is exercised by Daniel here. Apparently the MSS. varied here. See note on ver. 23.

21. The times of the world are in the hands of God, and all power and all wisdom come from Him.

the times and the seasons. Better render with LXX and Theod. (*καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους*) 'the seasons and the times.' Cf. vii. 12; also Acts i. 7 *χρόνοι ἢ καιροί*, 1 Thess. v. 1.

removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know under-
22 standing: he revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth
23 with him. I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast now made known unto me what we desired of thee: for thou hast made known unto us the king's
24 matter. Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch, whom the king had appointed to destroy the wise men of Babylon: he went and said thus unto him; Destroy not the wise men of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.

25 Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, I have found a man of the children of the captivity of Judah, that will make known

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removeth kings, and setteth up kings. Possibly the two Greek versions are right in omitting the second 'kings.' Hence 'removeth and setteth up kings.'

giveth wisdom. Cf. Sir. i. 1.

know understanding. Cf. Prov. iv. 1.

22. revealeth the deep . . . things. Cf. Job xii. 22.

the light dwelleth with him. Cf. 1 John i. 7, 1 Tim. vi. 16.

23. God of my fathers. Cf. 2 Chron. xx. 6, Deut. i. 21, &c. Daniel closes his hymn with a thanksgiving to the God who, unchanged among all the changes and chances of the world's history, had always been the Defender and Saviour of His people. Cf. 2 Chron. xx. 6-12.

wisdom and might. Here the LXX reads 'wisdom and understanding,' which certainly suits the context better. If the LXX is right the corruption could be explained as due to ver. 20^b.

24-30. Daniel is brought at his own request by Arioch into the king's presence, and declares his readiness to make known the dream and its interpretation.

24. went in . . . he went and said. We should, with ten Hebrew MSS., the two Greek versions, and the Vulgate, omit either the first or the second 'went,' and read simply 'Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch . . . and said.'

25: captivity. Better 'exile.' Cf. v. 13, vi. 13

unto the king the interpretation. The king answered 26
and said to Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, Art
thou able to make known unto me the dream which
I have seen, and the interpretation thereof? Daniel 27
answered before the king, and said, The secret which the
king hath demanded can neither wise men, enchanters,
magicians, nor soothsayers, shew unto the king; but 28
there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and he
hath made known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what
shall be in the latter days. Thy dream, and the visions

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27. On the terms 'enchanters, &c.,' see note on ver. 2.

soothsayers. Better render 'determiners.' See note just referred to.

28. in the latter days, lit. 'in the end of the days.' The meaning of this phrase, which occurs fourteen times in the O.T., varies according to the outlook of the writer. In Gen. xlix. 1, Num. xxiv. 14, Deut. xxxi. 29 (iv. 30), Dan. x. 14 it is used of various crises in Israel's history from the settlement in Canaan onwards down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. In other passages, as in Ezek. xxxviii. 16, Hos. iii. 5, Isa. ii. 2 (= Mic. iv. 1), Jer. xlviii. 47, Dan. ii. 28, &c., it refers to events and periods still in the future connected with the Messianic age. This biblical phrase recurs in the Zadokite Fragments vi. 2, viii. 10, 2 Bar. x. 3, xxv. 1. Other forms of this phrase are 'the end of the ages,' T. Lev. xiv. 1, 2 Bar. lix. 8, 'the last days,' 4 Ezra xiii. 18, 'the consummation of the time(s),' 2 Bar. xiii. 3, xix. 5, xxi. 8, xxvii. 15, xxix. 8, xxx. 3, lix. 4, 'the time of the end,' Dan. xii. 4, 'the end,' Dan. vii. 26, 'the end of the first age,' 4 Ezra vi. 7, 'the end of this age,' 4 Ezra vii. 113.

The above phrases, the number of which could be easily increased, exhibit different nuances according to the context in which they occur, but have all an eschatological meaning.

28^{b}. This sentence seem to be in the wrong place. The words 'Thy dream, and the visions of thy head upon thy bed, are these' form an immediate introduction to ver. 31 sqq., and should be read after ver. 30. They are omitted by the LXX.

visions of thy head. Cf. iv. 5, 10, 13, vii. 1, 15. The head is the seat of the seer's vision, but thoughts spring from the heart. Cf. ver. 30.

29. Before the king fell asleep his thoughts were dwelling on what should come to pass after him. In the dream that followed the future was revealed.

29 of thy head upon thy bed, are these: as for thee, O king,
thy thoughts came *into thy mind* upon thy bed, what
should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth
secrets hath made known to thee what shall come to
30 pass. But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me
for any wisdom that I have more than any living, but to
the intent that the interpretation may be made known
to the king, and that thou mayest know the thoughts of
31 thy heart. Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great
image. This image, which was mighty, and whose brightness
was excellent, stood before thee; and the aspect
32 thereof was terrible. As for this image, his head was
of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly
33 and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron,
34 and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out
without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that
35 were of iron and clay, and brake them in pieces. Then was
the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken

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thy thoughts came into thy mind. Since the words 'into thy mind' have to be supplied, it is probable that the text is here defective. *S*^{e}*liqu* (= 'came up') nowhere else stands for 'came up into the mind.' Hence, as in the Hebrew phrase in Isa. lxv. 17, Jer. iii. 16, &c., the Aramaic phrase should be restored. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 1 'cogitationes meae ascendebant super cor meum': Acts vii. 23.

30. As Joseph in Gen. xli. 16, so Daniel declares that the power of interpretation comes not of his own wisdom but from God.

31–35. The king's dream.

31. excellent. This word has here, as in v. 12, 14, the meaning of 'pre-eminent,' 'surpassing.'

34. cut out. Restore after these words 'from a mountain,' with LXX, Theod., and Jos. *Ant.* x. 10. 4. Cf. ver. 45.

35. The great image collapses into dust, which was carried away like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, till not a trace of it could be found.

the iron, the clay. The order seems wrong, though it is supported by the LXX and the Vulg. Better read with Theod.:

in pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great [a] mountain, and filled the whole earth. This is the dream; and we will 36
tell the interpretation thereof before the king. Thou, 37
O king, art king of kings, unto whom the God of heaven hath given the kingdom, the power, and the strength, and the glory; and wheresoever the children of men 38
dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee to rule over them all: thou art the head of gold. And 39
after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee; and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear

[a] Or, rock.

'the clay, the iron.' This is the order in ver. 45 according to the LXX, Theod., and the Vulg. The order of all the authorities in ver. 32 supports this restoration. Hence the Massoretic is to be corrected accordingly in ver. 45.

no place was found. Cf. Rev. xx. 11.

36–45. Interpretation of the dream.

37. king of kings. This was the usual title of the Persian kings; cf. Ezra vii. 12. It is applied to Nebuchadnezzar in Ezek. xxvi. 7, though according to Prince it was not the customary Babylonian form of address. The Assyrian title was 'great king'; cf. Isa. xxxvi. 4.

unto whom the God of heaven hath given, &c. As already in ver. 21 our author declares that all kings owe their sovereignty to God. Cf. Jer. xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xxviii. 14, Isa. xliv. 28, xlv. 1.

38. the beasts of the field . . . hath he given. Derived from Jer. xxvii. 6, xxviii. 14.

39. The second and third kingdoms, which are here briefly referred to, are the Median and Persian. According to the view of our author Darius 'the Mede' (v. 31, ix. 1, xi. 1) received the kingdom on the overthrow of Belshazzar. How long he reigned we are not told, but on his death he was succeeded by Cyrus 'the Persian' (vi. 28, x. 1). The Median kingdom is said in this verse to be inferior to the Assyrian and in viii. 3 to the Persian.

40 rule over all the earth. And the fourth kingdom shall
be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces
and subdueth all things: and as iron that crusheth all
41 these, shall it break in pieces and crush. And whereas
thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay, and
part of iron, it shall be a divided kingdom; but there
shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch
42 as thou sawest the iron mixed with [a] miry clay. And as
the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so
the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly [b] broken.
43 And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with [a] miry
clay, they shall mingle themselves [c] with the seed of
men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even
44 as iron doth not mingle with clay. And in the days

[a] Or, *earthenware* [b] Or, *brittle* [c] Or, *by*

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40. The Macedonian empire. This kingdom is symbolized by iron in reference to its power under its founder Alexander. Its division into several kingdoms and the relative strength and weakness of these are symbolized by the mingling of iron and clay.

forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces . . . shall it break in pieces and crush. There can hardly be a question as to the text here being corrupt. First of all the clause 'and as iron that crusheth all these' is to be removed as a disturbing gloss. It is not found in Theod., Vulg., and the Peshitto. Next a comparison of the LXX here, which ends with the words 'all the earth,' with vii. 23 makes it highly probable that these words are original. For the details of the following restoration the reader is referred to the present Editor's larger Commentary. The reconstructed text would read: 'And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: for as iron breaketh in pieces and shattereth all things, so shall it break in pieces and crush the whole earth.'

41. and toes. Omitted by the LXX.

a divided kingdom. These words refer to the dismemberment of Alexander's kingdom among the Diadochi. See xi. 5 note.

43. This verse refers to the marriages between the Seleucidae (i. e. the iron) and the Ptolemies (i. e. the clay). Cf. xi. 6, 17.

44. in the days: i. e. of the Seleucidae, more particularly of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B. C.) during whose reign the advent of the kingdom was expected by our author.

of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that a stone 45
was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure. Then the 46

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nor . . . to another people. The kingdom is to belong to the Jews for evermore.

45. the iron, the brass, the clay. Read: 'the clay, the iron, the brass.' See note on ver. 35.

a great God. The R.V. wrongly renders 'the great God.' Our author is here addressing a heathen king and speaks from his standpoint.

the dream is certain. Daniel concludes with a solemn affirmation of the truth of the dream and its interpretation after the manner of Apocalypses. Cf. viii. 26, xi. 2, xii. 7, Rev. xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 6.

46–9. The king recognizes the superiority of the Jewish religion, bestows high honours on Daniel, and exalts his three companions at Daniel's request.

46. That the homage rendered to Daniel by the king was not simply such as was paid to Haman in Esther iii. 2 is clear from the command 'to offer an oblation and sweet odours' to Daniel. As Bevan well remarks, 'Nebuchadnezzar at the feet of Daniel represents the Gentile power humbled before Israel (cf. Isa. xlix. 23, lx. 14).' We have a good parallel in the legendary account of Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8. 5), according to which Alexander the Great prostrated himself before the Jewish high priest, and justified himself in so doing in the words: 'I do not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with His high priesthood.' Jerome writes: 'Non tam Danielem quam in Daniele adorat Deum, qui mysteria revelavit' (Behrmann). The words 'bowed down to' are ambiguous in themselves; but, as we have already observed, the close of the verse represents Daniel as accepting divine honours in contrast to the action of the Apostles in Acts xiv. 13–18. And yet the king's homage though ostensibly offered to Daniel was in reality paid to Daniel's God, as ver. 47 declares.

king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped
Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an obla-
47 tion and sweet odours unto him. The king answered
unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth your God is the God of
gods, and the Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets,
48 seeing thou hast been able to reveal this secret. Then
the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great
gifts, and made him to rule over the whole province of
Babylon, and to be chief governor over all the wise men
49 of Babylon. And Daniel requested of the king, and he
appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, over the
affairs of the province of Babylon: but Daniel was [a] in
the gate of the king.

[a] Or, *at the king's court*

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fell upon his face. 'A mark of respect—whether to God, as Gen. xvii. 3, or to man, 2 Sam. ix. 6, xiv. 4.'—Driver.

worshipped Daniel. The word used here for worship is used in iii. 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15, 18, &c. But, as Driver points out, it is used in the Targums 'of obeisance done to a human superior (as 2 Sam. xiv. 33, xviii. 21, 28, xxiv. 20); so that it does not necessarily imply the payment of divine honour.'

sweet odours: lit. 'quietings,' 'soothings.'—Theod. εὐωδίας. Only here and in Ezra vi. 10 is it found used absolutely instead of the usual sacrificial expression 'odour of a sweet smell' = ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, as in Gen. viii. 21, Lev. i. 9, 13, &c.

47. the God of gods, and the Lord of kings. This is the text implied by the LXX but not quite by the Massoretic, which should rather be rendered as in the A.V. 'a God of gods and Lord of kings,' or 'a God over gods and Lord over kings' (see Kautzsch, *Grammatik d. Bibl. Aram.*, p. 146). The Targum on Ps. cxxxvi. 2 gives the equivalent of the LXX here. This indefinite title recurs in xi. 36, which may be contrasted with the definite title in Deut. x. 17.

48. chief governor: lit. 'the chief of the deputies.' The word 'deputy,' i.e. *sĕgan*, recurs in iii. 2, 3, 27, vi. 6. It is found also in the Hebrew in the form *sagan*—both forms being borrowed from the Assyrian.

49. This verse serves to introduce ch. iii.

was in the gate of the king, i.e. remained at court. Cf. Esther ii. 19, 21.

Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, 3
whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth
thereof six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura,
in the province of Babylon. Then Nebuchadnezzar the 2
king sent to gather together the satraps, the deputies,

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iii. The object of this chapter is to encourage the Jews not to acknowledge in any way any heathen religion, but to hold fast at all costs to their own, the truth of which has been established in chap. ii, and to prefer death to apostasy. In such circumstances their confession and action were to be those of the three youths: 'There is a God, whom we serve, who is able to deliver us . . . and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king: but if not . . . we will not serve thy gods' (17-18).

1. The LXX, Theod., and the Pesh. begin this verse with the words 'In the eighteenth year' (i.e. of Nebuchadnezzar). This would be the year before Jerusalem was taken (2 Kings xxv. 8). As this date recurs in the LXX at the beginning of chap. iv, and as they can hardly follow thus upon each other, Jahn suggests that these two chapters originally formed part of independent writings.

an image of gold . . . threescore cubits. The image was not necessarily of solid gold. The golden altar in Exod. xxxix. 38 was merely covered with gold (Exod. xxx. 3). Such colossal statues were rather affected amongst Orientals. Herodotus (i. 183) speaks of a great golden statue of Zeus in the temple of Belus in Babylon, and Nestle (*Marginalia*, p. 35) reminds us of the mention in Ammianus Marcellinus of a colossal golden statue erected by Antiochus Epiphanes in the temple of Daphne at Antioch.

plain of Dura. Though three localities are mentioned in the tablets bearing the name Duru (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 216), and several Babylonian cities had names compounded with Dur, the plain of Dura has not been identified. Driver calls attention to Oppert's suggestion that one of the many mounds—called Mounds of Dura—near to a small river called the Dura, which falls into the Euphrates about six miles below Babylon, may have formed the pedestal of a colossal image.

2. satraps. The form in the Old Persian is *khshatra-pawan*, 'warden of the realm,' of which the Aramaic *'aḥashdarpan* and the Greek *σατράπης* are corruptions. The title is a Persian one (cf. Ezra viii. 36, Esther iii. 12, &c.) and not a Babylonian, and is accordingly an anachronism here.

deputies. See ii. 48.

and the governors, the [a] judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the [b] sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchad-
3 nezzar the king had set up. Then the satraps, the deputies, and the governors, the [a] judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the [b] sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Nebuchadnezzar
4 had set up. Then the herald cried aloud, To you it is
5 commanded, O peoples, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp,

[a] Or, *chief soothsayers* [b] Or, *lawyers*

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governors. Aramaic *peḫah*, from the Assyrian *paḫâti.* The word is of frequent occurrence also in Hebrew, especially in the post-Exilic books.

judges. Aramaic *'adargâzar*, a Persian loan-word = *andarzaghar*, 'counsellor.' But E. Meyer thinks it means 'general in chief.' The marginal reading of R.V. 'chief soothsayer,' implies a different derivation.

treasurer. Aram. *g^{e}dabar.* This word is taken by some scholars to be a secondary form of *gizbar*, 'treasurer' (Ezra i. 8, vii. 21). According to Graetz it is a scribal error for *haddâbar*, which occurs in vss. 24 (see note), 27, iv. 36, vi. 7.

counsellors. Aram. *d^{e}thabar*, from the Old Persian *dâtabara*, from *dāt*, 'law' and *bar* = 'law bearer.' This word has, as Driver observes, been found recently by Hilprecht in the Nippur inscriptions of the time of Artaxerxes I and Darius II.

sheriffs. Aram. *tiphtāyā.* According to Andreas this should be corrected into *denpĕtayyê* = Middle Persian *denpet*, 'chief religious official.' If this is right, the above rendering must be corrected. Behrmann compares the Old Persian word *adipati*, 'chief official.' The marginal reading in R.V. 'lawyers' is based on the very improbable view that it is connected with *aftā*, 'to advise,' of which *mufti* is the participle.

4. peoples, nations, and languages. Cf. 7, 29, iv. 1, v. 19, vi. 25, vii. 14: Rev. v. 9, vii. 9, &c.

5. cornet, lit. 'horn.' The word *ḳeren* is used here and in 7, 10, 15, and in Syriac in the same sense as the Hebrew *shophar.*

flute. Aram. *mashroḳîtha*, from *shĕraḳ*, 'to hiss.'

sackbut, psaltery, [a] dulcimer, and all kinds of music,
ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebu-
chadnezzar the king hath set up: and whoso falleth not 6
down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into
the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Therefore at that 7
time, when all the peoples heard the sound of the cornet,
flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music, all
the peoples, the nations, and the languages, fell down
and worshipped the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar
the king had set up. Wherefore at that time certain 8
Chaldeans came near, and brought accusation against

[a] Or, *bagpipe*

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harp. Aram. *ḳîth*^{e}*ros* (or *ḳitharis* according to Kamphausen) is the Greek *κίθαρις*.

sackbut. Aram. *sabb*^{e}*ka*, which is identical with the Greek *σαμβύκη*, though whether the borrowing was done by the Greeks or by the Semites is uncertain. The sackbut was a triangular four-stringed instrument. Athenaeus (iv. 175 d) states that it was a Syrian invention.

psaltery. Aram. *psantērin*, i. e. *ψαλτήριον*: also in 7, 10, 15. This 'was a stringed instrument, of triangular shape, like an inverted Δ. It differed from the *cithara* (as Augustine repeatedly states) in having the sounding-board above the strings, which were played with a plectrum and struck downwards' (Driver).

dulcimer. In marg. 'bagpipe.' Aram. *sūmpōnyāh*, i.e. the Greek *συμφωνία*. This instrument is mentioned again in 10 but omitted in 7. 'It was probably a goat-skin bag with two reed pipes, the one used as a mouthpiece to fill the bag, . . . and the other employed as a chanter-flute with finger holes' (*Encyc. Bib.* III. 3230). Bevan (p. 41) has observed that the *συμφωνία*, as the name of an instrument, is peculiar to late Greek and that it is specially mentioned by Polybius (xxvi. p. 1151, ed. Hultsch) as a favourite instrument of Antiochus Epiphanes, while Nestle has adduced another passage from Polybius (xxxi. 4), which states that the king used to dance to the sound of the bagpipe (*τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης . . . ὠρχεῖτο*).

8–12. The three Jewish youths accused of not falling down before the image.

8. brought accusation. The phrase in the original is peculiar: it literally means: 'ate the pieces of.' It means: 'to denounce' and then 'to slander.' It was in use throughout the entire Semitic

9 the Jews. They answered and said to Nebuchadnezzar
10 the king, O king, live for ever. Thou, O king, hast
made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound
of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer,
and all kinds of music, shall fall down and worship the
11 golden image: and whoso falleth not down and worshippeth,
shall be cast into the midst of a burning fiery
12 furnace. There are certain Jews whom thou hast appointed
over the affairs of the province of Babylon,
Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; these men, O king,
have not regarded thee: they serve not thy gods, nor
13 worship the golden image which thou hast set up. Then
Nebuchadnezzar in *his* rage and fury commanded to
bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. Then they
14 brought these men before the king. Nebuchadnezzar
answered and said unto them, Is it of purpose, O Shadrach,
Meshach, and Abed-nego, that ye serve not my

---

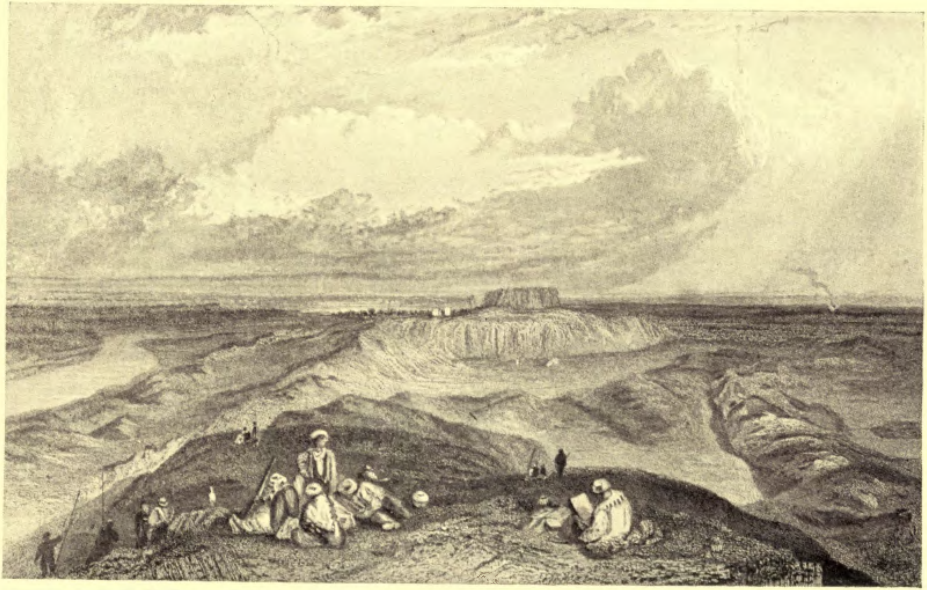
world; for it is found in the Tel-el-Amarna letters: in the Syriac, where *'ākhēl ḳarzā* (i.e. 'eater of pieces') is the rendering of *ὁ διάβολος*, and in the Koran.

12. have not regarded thee. The Aramaic here is peculiar. If the meaning universally assigned to it by scholars is right, then to *ṭ'ēm* must be given a signification, i.e. 'deference,' 'respect,' which it bears only here and in vi. 13. But if we turn to the Greek versions and the Vulgate we find that they presuppose a different text, i.e. 'they have not hearkened to thy command.' For the detailed criticism of this passage and of vi. 13, and the reconstruction of the text, see my larger Commentary.

thy gods. We should, with Q^{e}rî, read 'thy god,' as in 14, 18, iv. 8.

14. Is it of purpose? To obtain this sense we must suppose הַצְדָא to be a Hebraism equivalent to צְדִיָּה (Num. xxxv. 20, 22) = 'lying in wait,' which is derived from the rare root צדה (see Lexicon). The initial ה would then be the interrogative. But it is better with Bevan, Behrmann, and Driver to take it as a corruption of האזדא = 'is it true?' This word is already found in ii. 5, 8. Cf. Theod. *εἰ ἀληθῶς*.

my god. So the Erfurter MS. Cf. iv. 8. Other MSS. **'my gods.'**



Drawing by J. M. W. Turner, R.A.

BABYLON

(*At the beginning of the 19th Century*)

god, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?
Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound 15
of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer,
and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the
image which I have made, *well*: but if ye worship not,
ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning
fiery furnace; and who is that god that shall deliver
you out of my hands? Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed- 16
nego, answered and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar,
[a] we have no need to answer thee in this matter. [b] If it 17
be *so*, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from

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[a] Or, *we are not careful*

[b] Or, *Behold, our God &c.* Or, *If our God whom we serve be able to deliver us, he will deliver us from . . . and out of thine hand, O king*

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15. well. For like aposiopeses after conditional sentences cf. Exod. xxxii. 32, Judges ix. 16 sqq.

who is that god? Rather 'what god?' or 'is there any god?' See Kautzsch, *Gramm.*, p. 155.

16. we have no need to answer, &c. The three youths refuse to discuss a question which must be left to God Himself.

17. If it be so . . . to deliver us. The king has asked: 'Is there any god who can deliver you?' To this question this verse should supply the answer, but in such a way as to harmonize with ver. 16 where the youths have refused to debate the question. Hence ver. 17 should explain ver. 16 while answering ver. 15, and hence further, we should expect ver. 17 to begin with 'for' or some such word. 'We have no need to discuss this matter; for the God whom we serve either will or will not save us.' Deeds not words will answer the question. If this is the meaning of the context, it is clear that the words 'if it be so' cannot be right, and that it is the true sense is confirmed by the four versions, LXX, Theod., Pesh., Vulg., all of which begin ver. 17 with 'for.'

But almost all modern scholars (and R.V. in marg.), following the Massoretic punctuation, give a different rendering of ver. 17: 'If our God, whom we serve, be able to deliver us, He will deliver us,' &c. Against this form of the text there are, I think, two objections. 1°. It can hardly be that such strong champions of their God would for a moment admit that He was unable to deliver them, and that to a heathen king. They could admit the

the burning fiery furnace; and he will deliver us out
18 of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto
thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship
19 the golden image which thou hast set up. Then was
Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage
was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: *therefore* he spake, and commanded that they
should heat the furnace seven times more than it was
20 wont to be heated. And he commanded certain mighty
men that were in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach,
and Abed-nego, *and* to cast them into the burning fiery
21 furnace. Then these men were bound in their hosen,
their [a] tunics, and their mantles, and their *other* garments,

[a] Or, *turbans*

---

possibility of His not saving them, but not His inability to save. 2°. If we may reason from other passages, when *'ithai* forms one idea with a participle, they should not be separated by any intervening words as they are in this passage. If this conclusion is just, then the above translation is inadmissible. Further, from 1°, it follows that even if it were admissible, it is inappropriate.

We must, therefore, fall back on the versions for the original text. These (see my larger Commentary) clearly require the following: 'For there is a God, whom we serve, who is able to deliver us.' This forms a fitting answer to the king's question: 'Is there any God who can deliver you?' They answer first that there is such a God, and that it is the God whom they serve.

18. But if not: i. e. 'but if He will not deliver us.'

thy gods. Read 'thy god' as in iv. 8. Bel was the special patron deity of the king.

19–27. *The deliverance of the three youths from the burning fiery furnace.*

19. full of. Render 'filled with.'

21. hosen . . . tunics . . . mantles. Better render 'mantles . . . trousers . . . hats.' For a discussion of these words see Driver: for the evidence of the versions which is very confused see my larger Commentary.

hosen: *sarbal* rather means 'mantle.' Such is its meaning in the Talmud.

tunics: *pattish* rather means 'trousers.' Theod. gives περικνημῖσι, the LXX τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν.

and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.
Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, 22
and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew
those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego.
And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and 23
Abed-nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning
fiery furnace. Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was 24
astonied, and rose up in haste: he spake and said unto
his counsellors, Did not we cast three men bound into
the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto
the king, True, O king. He answered and said, Lo, 25
I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire,
and they have no hurt; and the aspect of the fourth
is like a son of the gods. Then Nebuchadnezzar came 26

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mantles. Rather: 'hats.' The LXX gives *τιάρας*, Theod. *τιάραις*. In post-Biblical Hebrew *karbal* denotes a covering for the head.

23. This verse is an otiose repetition of 21^b. It is omitted by the LXX. If it is original, it should probably be read after 22, omitting the words: 'these three men . . . Abed-nego.' On the other hand, some clauses seem to have been lost in the Aramaic, which would explain Nebuchadnezzar's astonishment. Accordingly von Gall, Bludau, and Rothstein have suggested that verses 46-50, 24, as they appear in the Greek addition in LXX and Theod., stood originally in the Semitic. After v. 23 the LXX and Theod. add a passage of 67 verses, i. e. 24-90; vv. 24-45 the prayer of Azarias: a descriptive passage 46-50 telling of the destruction of the executioners, the descent of the angel, the doxology uttered by the three youths 52-6, and the hymn known as the *Benedicite* 57-90.

That something is lost seems quite clear. The lost passage on which 46-50, 24 are based dealt with what the king saw: i. e. an angel ('the fourth is like a son of the gods,' ver. 25: 'His angel,' ver. 28) descending into the furnace: the three youths set free from their bonds and walking unhurt in the furnace.

24. astonied. Rather 'startled' or 'alarmed.'

counsellors. Aram. *haddabĕrin* is peculiar to Daniel, ver. 27, iv. 36, vi. 7. The etymology is uncertain.

25. loose. The fire had merely destroyed their bonds.

a son of the gods: i. e. an angel. Cf. Gen. vi. 2, Job i. 6.

near to the [a]mouth of the burning fiery furnace: he spake and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the Most High God, come forth, and come hither. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, came
27 forth out of the midst of the fire. And the satraps, the deputies, and the governors, and the king's counsellors, being gathered together, saw these men, that the fire had no power upon their bodies, nor was the hair of their head singed, neither were their hosen changed, nor
28 had the smell of fire passed on them. Nebuchadnezzar spake and said, Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and have yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except
29 their own God. Therefore I make a decree, that every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill: because there is no other god that

[a] Aram. *door*.

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26. Most High God. Cf. iv. 2, v. 18, 21. The title 'Most High' is found in iv. 17, 24, 25, 32, 34, vii. 25. This title was used by Jews and also by heathen speakers; cf. Isa. xiv. 14, Tob. i. 13, 1 Esdras ii. 3, vi. 31, Mark v. 7, Acts xvi. 17. It is very frequent in 1 Enoch, Test. Twelve Patriarchs, Jubilees, Ass. Moses.

27. The gradation is obvious: the hair is not singed, the flowing mantles not hurt, and even the smell of fire had not passed on them.

hosen. Rather 'mantles.' Cf. ver. 21.

28. Doxology of the king.

29. His decree of toleration.

I make a decree. Cf. iv. 6, Ezra iv. 19, 21, &c

people, nation, and language. Cf. ver. 4, 7.

cut in pieces . . . dunghill. See ii. 5, note.

is able to deliver after this sort. Then the king promoted 30
Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, in the province of
Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar the king, unto all the peoples, nations, 4

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iv. THERE ARE TWO FORMS OF THIS CHAPTER. In the Massoretic text, which is followed by Theodotion, the Vulgate, and the Peshitto, the entire narrative is given *in the form of an edict or letter of Nebuchadnezzar to all his subjects.* It begins with a greeting to 'all the peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth,' and proceeds to state the king's desire to make known to them the signs and wonders that the Most High had wrought upon him (1–3). He then recounts a dream which troubled him, and tells how he summoned the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers to make known its interpretation (4–6), and that when they failed Daniel was brought before him (7–8). To him the king set forth his dream (9–18), which Daniel forthwith interpreted (19–27). Within a year the dream was fulfilled, and the king driven forth to live with the beasts of the field (28–33). At the end of seven times the king's reason returned unto him, and he was restored unto his kingdom, and so he praised and honoured and extolled the God of heaven (34–37).

Turning now to the LXX we observe first of all that there is nothing in it corresponding to the first three verses in the Massoretic, which transform the next thirty-four verses into an edict. This chapter begins simply, in the LXX, with the words: 'And in the eighteenth year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar said: I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house': *then follows in the same narrative form the next thirty-three verses. At their close comes the edict* as a result of the king's spiritual and psychical experiences, in which are embodied very many of the phrases in iv. 1–3.

A close study of the texts and versions has forced me to conclude that the older order of the text is preserved in the LXX and not in the Aramaic. The complete evidence for this conclusion will be found in my larger Commentary. Here I will shortly indicate a few of the chief grounds without going into details.

1°. The LXX in chap. iv follows the analogy of the preceding chapter, which first gives an account of Nebuchadnezzar's experiences in relation to the three Hebrew children, and then appends, as their natural sequel, the king's edict against idolatry at the close of the chapter. The analogy of chap. iii, therefore, supports the general form into which the matter is cast in chapter iv.

2°. But not only is the order in the LXX the more reasonable and confirmed by the analogy of chapter iii, but traces still survive in the Massoretic which show that it is a secondary form and languages, that dwell in all the earth; peace be

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or recast of a text which observed the same order as the LXX, that is, a narrative of thirty-four verses followed by a royal edict; for in verses 19, 28–33 the narrative form prevails in which the king is spoken of in the third person. The redactor has here forgotten to transform these features of the narrative form into that of the edict form. Plenty of analogies for such acts of editorial carelessness exist elsewhere.

3°. The LXX shows its superior text in omitting verses 6–9, which recount the king's summons of all the wise men to interpret his dream, and their failure to do so, and then finally the appearance of Daniel, to whom the king narrates his dream. The LXX, on the other hand, by omitting all mention of the wise men and representing the king as at once sending for Daniel in verse 18, puts the action of the king in a reasonable light. For considering the knowledge which the king had gained of Daniel's powers as an interpreter of dreams, and Daniel's subsequent high position *in the court*, it seems unnatural that he should be summoned last of all. Here again the order of the LXX seems more original. But this is not all. A comparison of these four verses (iv. 6–9) with ii. 2–7 tends to show that the former are secondary to the latter. In chapter ii the king requires the wise men to tell him both the dream and its interpretation, since the king had forgotten his dream. But though in this chapter, according to ver. 7, the king remembered his dream, for in vv. 10–17 he recounts it at length, yet in ver. 9, if the text is trustworthy, the king requires Daniel to tell him his dream and its interpretation. If the text is correctly transmitted the passage is secondary. If the passage is original it must be emended.

The source of the historical statements in this chapter. It is now generally agreed that there is nothing to be found in the inscriptions or in ancient history relating to Nebuchadnezzar's insanity. On the other hand, it is no less certain that the author of this chapter was following a popular tradition, another form of which is preserved by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* ix. 41) from the Assyrian history of Abydenus, who lived about A.D. 200[1]. 'This also have I found concerning Nebuchadnezzar in the book of Abydenus *On the Assyrians.* Megasthenes (floruit circa 300 B.C.) relates that Nebuchadrezzar became mightier than Herakles and made war upon Libya and Iberia; having conquered these countries he transported some of their inhabitants to the eastern shores of the sea. Afterwards, as the Chaldaean story goes, when he had ascended the roof of his palace, he was inspired by some god or other and multiplied unto you. It hath seemed good unto me to 2

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[1] The following passage is taken from Bevan, p. 87 sq.

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cried aloud, "O men of Babylon, lo I, Nebuchadrezzar, announce to you the future calamity, which neither Bel my ancestor nor our queen, Beltis, can persuade the Fates to avert. There shall come a Persian, a mule, who shall have your own gods as his allies, and he shall make you slaves. Moreover, he who shall help to bring this about shall be ⟨the son⟩ of a Median woman,[1] the boast of the Assyrians. Would that, before his countrymen perish, some whirlpool or flood might seize him and destroy him utterly! or else that he might betake himself to some other place, and might be driven through the desert, where is no city nor track of men, where wild beasts seek their food and birds fly hither and thither, would that among rocks and mountain clefts he might wander alone! And as for me, may I, before he imagines this, meet some happier end!" When he had thus prophesied he suddenly vanished.'

This is clearly a popular legend of Babylonian origin referring to the overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus 'the mule,' and the part borne therein by the son of the Median woman, i.e. by Nabunaid, the last of the Babylonian kings.

Bevan points out that the resemblances between the narrative in Daniel and in Abydenus cannot be accidental. In both King Nebuchadnezzar is on the roof of his palace: in both a divine voice makes itself heard (in the former work to the king, in the latter through him): and, finally, the doom pronounced in both is similar though its object differs. But neither form of the story is borrowed from the other, though that of Abydenus is more primitive, while that in Daniel has been transformed to serve a didactic aim.

The object of chapter iv is not, as that of iii is in part, to admonish the Jews against idolatry, but to show the sheer helplessness of the heathen powers over against the true God. However irresistible the power of Antiochus might seem to the Jews, our author teaches through the lips of the great King of Babylon, that the mightiest monarch who resists the will of God has no more power than the meanest of mankind, and can in one moment be reduced, not merely to the position of the latter, but even to that of the brute. The obvious lesson involved is that the Jews are not to fear the power of Antiochus Epiphanes; for that God rules, and that nothing can fall out but what He permits. As the pride of Nebuchadnezzar was humbled, so would be that of the Syrian king.

iv. 1. peace be multiplied unto you. Cf. vi. 25, 1 Pet. i. 2, 2 Pet. i. 2. In Ezra v. 7 we have the formula 'all peace.'

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[1] So emended by Von Gutschmidt.

shew the signs and wonders that the Most High God
3 hath wrought toward me. How great are his signs!
and how mighty are his wonders! his kingdom is an
everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation.

4 I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and
5 flourishing in my palace. I saw a dream which made
me afraid; and the [a] thoughts upon my bed and the
6 visions of my head troubled me. Therefore made I a
decree to bring in all the wise men of Babylon before
me, that they might make known unto me the inter-
7 pretation of the dream. Then came in the magicians

[a] Or, *imaginations*

---

2. signs and wonders. Cf. Deut. iv. 34, Isa. viii. 18; σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα in the N.T. as in Mark xiii. 22, Rom. xv. 19.

Most High God. See iii. 26.

3. This verse is a stanza of four lines—

How great are his signs!
And how mighty are his wonders! &c.

his kingdom . . . generation. A variant of the doxology in Ps. cxlv. 13. Cf. vii. 14^{b}, 18^{b}.

4–9. The king's alarm over his dream which none of the wise men could interpret. The LXX omits 6–9. See Introd. to chapter above.

4. flourishing. This word, which is properly used of a tree, was possibly suggested by Ps. xcii. 13, 14, where, as here, it is used figuratively of persons. It is used indifferently of the prosperity of the righteous, Ps. lii. 8, or of the wicked, Ps. xxxvii. 35.

5. thoughts. The word *harhorin*, 'thoughts' or 'imaginations,' is found here only in the O.T. In the Targums and the Talmud it is used specially of evil thoughts.

visions of my head. Cf. ii. 28.

troubled. Rather 'alarmed.' This word is of frequent occurrence in our text.

6. Here, as in ii. 2, the wise men are summoned.

7. On these classes see note on ii. 2. In 6–7 the same ideas as in ii. 2 are repeated with a modification. The king here tells his dream: cf. verses 10, 13.

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the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers:
and I told the dream before them; but they did not
make known unto me the interpretation thereof. But 8
at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was
Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god, and in
whom is the spirit of the holy gods: and I told the
dream before him, *saying*, O Belteshazzar, master of the 9
magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy
gods is in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me
the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the inter-

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8. But at the last. This rendering is very doubtful, but so is the text, though Marti accepts it. Theod. and the Syriac simply give 'until.' Michaelis and Bevan change the point and render 'and yet another.' Behrmann: 'and (so it was) till another.'

the name of my god: i.e. Bel. See note on i. 7.

in whom is the spirit, &c. Imitated from Gen. xli. 38 'a man in whom the spirit of God is.' Cf. verses 9, 18, v. 14.

the holy gods. The king speaks as an idolater. Contrast Joshua xxiv. 19. This expression was probably in common use in Syria since it occurs in the inscription of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon of the third or fourth cent. B.C.

and I told the dream before him. It is not improbable that the word 'dream' is here an intrusion, seeing that it is omitted by Theod. (all MSS. excepting A). In that case we should render 'and I said before him.' This reading would remove the glaring inconsistency that otherwise arises between this verse and the next, where the king requires Daniel to tell him the dream, which, according to the present Massoretic text, the king has just told Daniel. By so reading we are relieved from the necessity of supplying 'saying,' as in the R.V.

9. master of the magicians. Cf. ii. 48.

no secret troubleth thee. Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 3.

tell me the visions of my dream . . . and the interpretation thereof. This is a peculiar statement seeing that the king himself tells his dream in the next verse. Theod. inserts *ἄκουσον* before the first clause; then we have: 'Hear then the visions, &c. and tell me its interpretation.' Behrmann takes the expression as a hendiadys, i.e. 'the interpretation of my dream visions,' while Giesebrecht, by an emendation of the word for visions, arrives at the following rendering: 'I will recount my dream and do thou tell me its interpretation.'

10 pretation thereof. Thus were the visions of my head
upon my bed: I saw, and behold a tree in the midst
11 of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The
tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached
unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the
12 earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof
much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field
had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt
13 in the branches thereof, and all flesh was fed of it. I saw
in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold,

10–17. In this dream of the king the imagery is clearly borrowed to a considerable extent from Ezek. xxxi. 3–14, where the glory of the Assyrian is likened to that of a cedar in Lebanon, in the boughs of which all the fowls of heaven made their nests and under the branches of which all the beasts of the field brought forth their young, and under the shadow of which dwelt all great nations. This great tree, like that in the king's vision, was suddenly destroyed. Behrmann and Driver compare the dream of Xerxes recorded in Herod. vii. 19, in which he saw himself crowned with a shoot of an olive tree, the boughs of which cover the whole earth.

10ᵇ–12. These verses form, as Marti has recognized, two strophes of four lines each. But two dittographs call for excision, which become obvious on the arrangement of the passage in verse:

'I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth,
[And the height thereof was great]:
The tree was grown and had become strong,
And the height thereof reached unto heaven,
And the sight thereof to the end of all the earth.

The leaves thereof were fair and the fruit thereof much,
[And in it was meat for all]
The beasts of the field had shadow under it,
And the fowls of heaven dwelt in the branches thereof,
And all flesh was fed by it.'

Here line 2 of the first stanza is a dittograph of line 4, and line 2 of the second stanza is a dittograph of line 5, borrowed from ver. 21. But it is just as possible that this line is original in both these verses, and that line 5 in ver. 12 is an intrusion.

12. the beasts of the field . . . the fowls. Cf. Ezek. xxxi. 6.

a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven.
He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and 14
cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his
fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the
fowls from his branches. Nevertheless leave the stump 15
of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and
brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet
with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the
beasts in the grass of the earth: let his heart be changed 16
from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him;
and let seven times pass over him. The sentence is by 17
the decree of the watchers, and the [a] demand by the word

[a] Or, *matter*

---

13. a watcher. Cf. 17, 23. This word *'îr* is rendered *ἐγρήγορος* in Theod. The term is of frequent occurrence in 1 Enoch, where it designates two classes 1° the archangels: 2° the fallen angels. See 1 Enoch i. 5, note, Jubilees iv. 22, viii. 3, x. 5, 2 Enoch xviii. 1. It is used in the sense of 'angel' also in Syriac.

This term recalls the word *shomĕrim*, 'watchmen,' used in Isa. lxii. 6. These 'watchmen' are not prophets, but heavenly beings commissioned by God to put Him in remembrance of the walls of Zion.

an holy one. This designation denoting an angel – cf. viii. 13, Job v. 1, xv. 15, Ps. lxxxix. 5, 7, Zech. xiv. 5—is very frequent in 1 Enoch, where see note on i. 9.

14. The words of the watcher form a stanza of four lines.

15. The hope of a restoration is indicated through the stump being left in the ground. It is secured by a band of iron and brass to prevent its removal (Marti).

This verse likewise forms a stanza of four lines. In it the change is made from the symbol to the thing symbolized.

16–17. These two verses form three stanzas of three lines each.

16. This verse is to be understood of the king only. The heart here denotes, of course, 'the intellect.' Cf. ii. 28^b, note. A 'heartless' man, according to the Hebrews, was a foolish man. Cf. Jer. v. 21.

seven times: i. e. seven years as in LXX and Joseph. *Ant.* x. 10. 6. Cf. vii. 25, xii. 7, Rev. xii. 14.

17. the decree of the watchers. In ver. 24 it is said to be 'the decree of the Most High.' In the O.T. the angels form

of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know
that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and
giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over
18 it the lowest of men. This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen: and thou, O Belteshazzar, declare
the interpretation, forasmuch as all the wise men of my
kingdom are not able to make known unto me the
interpretation; but thou art able, for the spirit of the holy
gods is in thee.

19 Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was
astonied for a while, and his thoughts troubled him.
The king answered and said, Belteshazzar, let not the
dream, or the interpretation, trouble thee. Belteshazzar
answered and said, My lord, the dream be to them that
hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine adver-
20 saries. The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was

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a kind of heavenly council (cf. Ps. lxxxix. 5, 7, Job i. 6, 12, ii. 1, 6). This idea was carried in later Judaism to extravagant and even blasphemous lengths, which not only represents God as doing nothing without consulting this council (so Sanh. 38^b, quoting this passage of Daniel), but also states that, when God intended to make Hezekiah the Messiah, this council successfully opposed His intention (Sanh. 94^a). In Sanh. 96^b it is said that, when God wished to admit the descendants of Nebuchadnezzar into the Jewish Community, the angels of service would not suffer it.

the demand by the word of the holy ones. Rather 'the word of the holy ones is the matter in question.'

18. the spirit, &c. Cf. ver. 8.

19. for a while. The Aram. *k^{e}sha'a* stands in Onkelos, Num. xvi. 21, for *k^{e}rega'*: cf. also Exod. xxxiii. 5 (Onk.). It may mean, therefore, 'for a moment.' In later times it came to mean an hour.

The king answered . . . trouble thee. This clause is omitted by the LXX and Theod.

to thine adversaries. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 494 'hostibus eveniat.'

20–21. Repeated with remarkable effect from 11–12. The verse form is here preserved.

strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the
sight thereof to all the earth; whose leaves were fair, and 21
the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under
which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose
branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation:
it is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong: 22
for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven,
and thy dominion to the end of the earth. And whereas 23
the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down
from heaven, and saying, Hew down the tree, and destroy
it; nevertheless leave the stump of the roots thereof in
the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the
tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew
of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts of the
field, till seven times pass over him; this is the interpretation, 24
O king, and it is the decree of the Most High,
which is come upon my lord the king: that thou shalt be 25
driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the
beasts of the field, and thou shalt be made to eat grass
as oxen, and shalt be wet with the dew of heaven, and
seven times shall pass over thee; till thou know that the
Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it
to whomsoever he will. And whereas they commanded 26
to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall
be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that
the heavens do rule. Wherefore, O king, let my counsel 27

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23. Cf. 13–16.

26. And whereas they commanded to leave. Better with the LXX and Theod. read 'and whereas they commanded (or "it was commanded"): Leave.' The analogy of ver. 23 where the direct command is preserved, supports this restoration of the text.

the heavens. This term here designates 1°. the inhabitants of the heavens, i. e. the watchers who had shared in the decree (ver. 17, so Behrmann and Marti), or 2°. it is with Bevan and

be acceptable unto thee, and [a] break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; if there may be [b] a lengthening of thy tranquillity.
28 All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar. At the
29 end of twelve months he was walking [c] in the royal palace
30 of Babylon. The king spake and said, Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the royal dwelling place, by the might of my power and for the glory of my

[a] Or, *redeem* [b] Or, as otherwise read, *an healing of thine error*
[c] Aram. *upon*.

Driver to be taken as an expression of reverence for God—a meaning which is not elsewhere found in the O.T. In this sense it is found in 1 Macc. iii. 18, 19, iv. 10, &c., and in the Pirke Aboth iv. 7, 17.

27. The dream is a prediction, but the threatened evil can be surmounted by repentance.

27. break off, or 'redeem,' as in margin R.V. This meaning is found in the kindred root *paraḳ* in Hebrew in Ps. cxxxvi. 24, Lam. v. 8. The counsel here tendered agrees with the Jewish teaching in Sir. iii. 30, 31, Tob. iv. 7–11, and the Pirke Aboth iv. 15 'He who performs one precept has gotten to himself an advocate and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser.' Rabbi Aqiba said (Baba Bathra 10^a) that God left the feeding of the poor to the faithful in order that the latter might be saved from the judgement of hell thereby. The teaching of the Pirke Aboth was repeated by R. Eleazar b. Jose—a pupil of Rabbi Aqiba (Baba Bathra 10^a).

righteousness. This expression denotes here 'good works,' and at this date almsgiving was the chief of these. Even δικαιοσύνη came to mean 'almsgiving,' as we see from Matt. vi. 1, where the true text is 'righteousness,' and 'alms,' the right interpretation, has made its way into a great number of the later MSS. As the chief Hebrew virtue, 'righteousness,' was in the course of time degraded into the mere act of almsgiving, so the chief Christian grace, namely ἀγάπη, *caritas*, 'charity,' incurred the same fate.

a lengthening of thy tranquillity. By a slightly different punctuation of the two words in the text, Ewald arrived at the following rendering which is that of the margin in the R.V., 'an healing of thy error.'

28–33. The fulfilment of the dreams.

30. the royal dwelling place. Rather 'a royal dwelling place,'

majesty? While the word was in the king's mouth, there 31
fell a voice from heaven, *saying*, O king Nebuchadnezzar,
to thee it is spoken: the kingdom is departed from thee.
And thou shalt be driven from men, and thy dwelling 32
shall be with the beasts of the field; thou shalt be made
to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee;
until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. The 33
same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar:
and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen,
and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hair
was grown like eagles' *feathers*, and his nails like birds'
claws. And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar 34
lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding
returned unto me, and I blessed the Most High, and
I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever; for his
dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom
from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants 35
of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the

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31. fell a voice from heaven. This voice, called by the later Jews a Bath-kol 'daughter of a voice,' is referred to in the Test. Levi xviii. 6 (see note), Test. Jud. xxiv. 2, Matt. iii. 17, Mark i. 11, Luke iii. 22. In the case of the Bath-kol a voice was heard but nothing seen. See Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 194 sq., *Jew. Encyc.*, ii. 588–592.

34. the days, i.e. the seven 'times' of verses 16, 23, 25, 32.

lifted up mine eyes unto heaven. Bevan draws attention to the interesting parallel in the *Bacchae* of Euripides (1265 sqq.), where Agave in her madness looks up to heaven and has her reason restored. See also Susanna, ver. 9.

him that liveth for ever. Cf. xii. 7, Sir. xviii. 1, 1 Enoch v. 1

his kingdom, &c. Cf. ver. 3.

35. This verse forms a stanza of four lines.

are reputed as nothing. Rather 'are as persons of no account' (Bevan).

the army of heaven. This is the Aramaic equivalent of the

inhabitants of the earth: and none can [a] stay his hand,
36 or say unto him, What doest thou? At the same time
mine understanding returned unto me; and for the glory
of my kingdom, my majesty and brightness returned unto
me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me;
and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent
37 greatness was added unto me. Now I Nebuchadnezzar
praise and extol and honour the King of heaven; for all
his works are truth, and his ways judgement: and those
that walk in pride he is able to abase.

5 Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand

[a] Aram. *strike.*

Hebrew 'host of heaven'—a phrase which embraces all the superhuman powers and is used sometimes of the angels and sometimes of the stars.

stay his hand, lit. 'strike his hand.' This expression is found in the Targ. of Eccles. viii. 4^b, and in the Mishna and later Jewish literature.

What doest thou? Cf. Isa. xlv. 9.

36. mine understanding returned unto me. This clause seems an intrusion; for it has already occurred two verses earlier, where it is said: 'Mine understanding returned unto me and I blessed, &c.' There it comes in rightly. By the recovery of his reason the king is enabled and desirous to praise God, and thus he does in verses 34-35. On this confession follows his restoration to his kingdom. Hence it seems best to omit it here.

majesty. The corresponding Hebrew word is used of the majesty of God or of a king.

counsellors. See iii. 24, 27.

37. This verse sums up the teaching of the entire chapter.

V. THE HISTORICAL DIFFICULTIES OF THIS CHAPTER.

This chapter deals with events about which two very different accounts are given. The first and trustworthy account (1°) is to be found in the inscriptions and comes probably from the hand of a contemporary historian or annalist: the second (2°) is that which is recorded by Herodotus and Xenophon, with which in some of its most salient features the story in our text agrees.

1°. The main facts recorded in the inscriptions can be given in a few words. Cyrus, who became king of Anshan in 549 and of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.

was called 'king of Persia' in 546 or earlier, in the year 538 attacked Babylon. He overthrew the army of Nabuna'id at Opis (Babylonian Upê) on the Tigris in Tishri (= October)[1], captured Sippar on the Euphrates on Tishri 14, and on the 16th his general Gubaru entered Babylon without striking a blow, and took Nabuna'id[2] prisoner. On Marchesvan 3 (= Oct. 27) Cyrus made his entry into Babylon, and on the 11th (= Nov. 4) Gubaru slew the king's son in a night assault.

Further, in inscriptions of the first twelve years of Nabuna'id's reign Belšaruṣur (= 'Bel protect the king'), 'the king's son,' is several times mentioned. Later only the king's son is mentioned without the proper name. Whether the king's son mentioned in the later years is Belšaruṣur (i. e. Belshazzar of our author) is not quite certain.

2°. Herodotus (i. 188 : cf. i. 74, 77), who names the last king Labynetus (Λαβύνητος = Nabuna'id), appears to have regarded him as the son of Nebuchadnezzar (see *KAT.*, p. 288). He represents (I. 191) Cyrus as diverting the waters of the Euphrates and entering Babylon by the river bed, while the inhabitants were celebrating a festival. In Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (vii. 15-31) a similar account is given, though here the city is surprised by Gobryas and Gadates.

Now if we compare the account in our text with 1° and 2° it is clear at a glance that it agrees most with 2°. With 1° it has practically nothing in common but the name Belshazzar[3]. For while our text represents Belshazzar as the son of Nebuchadnezzar and actual king, for several years, of Babylon, the inscriptions make him to be the son of Nabuna'id[4] and never to be king.

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[1] So with Meyer, *ZATW.*, 1898, p. 340 sq., we must read for July, since September has already been reached two lines earlier.

[2] According to Berosus (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 20), whose account agrees more with the inscriptions than with Herodotus.

[3] Observe the contrasting statements. In the inscriptions Belshazzar is only the king's son, making a desperate resistance in some fastness of the city, after the city as a whole had been surrendered and Nabuna'id taken prisoner. In a night attack shortly after Cyrus's arrival this fastness was stormed and Belshazzar slain. But in our text Nabuna'id is not mentioned and Belshazzar is king. There is nothing to suggest that the greater part of the city is in the hands of the enemy. On the contrary Belshazzar makes a great feast, summons to it a thousand of his lords, calls for the services of the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers, and institutes Daniel as a ruler of one-third of the kingdom.

[4] Nabuna'id was no relation of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the

2 Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine, commanded to

Further, whereas our text represents Babylon as being captured by force, the inscriptions state that it was surrendered peaceably to the general of Cyrus.

On the other hand our text agrees with the tradition recorded both in Herodotus and Xenophon that Babylon was taken *in the night, while the inhabitants were celebrating a feast*[1]. Further, if as it appears, Herodotus believed Labynetus (i.e. Nabuna'id) to have been a son of Nebuchadnezzar, we have here an approximation to the statement in our text that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

It is strange that the author of our text should have represented Belshazzar (in v. 2) as the son of Nebuchadnezzar[2], seeing that in 2 Kings xxv. 27, Jer. lii. 31 the actual son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar i. e. Evilmerodach (= Amel Marduk in the inscriptions) is mentioned.

The Purpose. From the above brief statement it follows that our author accepted the current popular account of the fall of Babylon, not concerning himself with its historicity, and recast it to suit his own didactic purpose. These materials which referred to a king or prince of Babylon our author has used with a view to the present crisis. If Belshazzar was overthrown, in part at all events, for his profanation of the vessels brought to Babylon from the Temple, what would befall the king who (like Antiochus Epiphanes) offered heathen sacrifices on the very altar of God in the Temple?

1–4. *Belshazzar's feast, and his profanation of the Temple vessels.*

1. Belshazzar: i.e. *Bel-šar-uṣur*, 'Bel protect the king.' Cf. Nergal-sharezer (Jer. xxxix. 3), i. e. Nergal-šar-uṣur, 'Nergal protect the king!' In the LXX and Theod. this name and Belteshazzar (i. 7) are represented by one and the same word **Βαλτασάρ**.

the king. In none of the inscriptions does Belshazzar appear as king but only as the king's son, though it is a matter of

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statement of Abydenus in Eus. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 41. 3 (προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν). In a Babylonian inscription he states his position thus: 'Nabuna'id, king of Babylon, the chosen of Nebo and Marduk, the son of Nabu-balāṭsu-iḳbi, the wise prince am I.'

[1] This idea in the popular account may have arisen from a misconception of the joy with which the Babylonians received Cyrus, as Marti suggests.

[2] In Joseph (*Ant.* x. 11. 2) Baltasar is represented as succeeding Labosordachus (i.e. Labashi Marduk, son of Nergal-šar-uṣur) and *identified with Nabuna'id.*

bring the golden and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar his father had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, might drink therein. Then they brought 3 the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, drank in them. They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, 4 and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

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inference and not of demonstration that in the inscriptions the king's son who was slain after the taking of Babylon was Belshazzar.

drank wine before. It was usual for oriental kings to feast either alone or with a few persons (Athenaeus iv. 145). Hence the present feast seems to have been against the etiquette of the time. On the other hand the Babylonians according to Curtius (v. 1) had a reputation for debauchery. See also note on next verse.

2. **golden and silver vessels.** See i. 2 note.

his father. If we compare this statement with its reiteration in 11, 13, 22 we cannot escape inferring that our author took Belshazzar to be a son of Nebuchadnezzar. Of course there is just the possibility that Nabuna'id—Belshazzar's father—married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar with a view to strengthen his position. In that case Belshazzar would have been a grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and, as we know from O. T. usage, the word 'father' could be used in the sense of grandfather (Gen. xxviii. 13, xxxii. 9), or great-grandfather (1 Kings xv. 11, Num. xviii. 1, 2). But if Nabuna'id did marry a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar we should have expected some reference to this alliance in the inscriptions. See Introd. to this chapter, note[4].

his wives and his concubines. Cf. Cant. vi. 8. According to Herod. v. 18, it was the custom for women to appear at feasts among the Persians. Cf. also Xenophon, *Cyr.* v. ii. 28, Curtius v. 1, 38.

3. **the golden vessels.** Read 'the golden and the silver vessels,' with Theod. and the Peshitto. Cf. ver. 2.

4. After the words 'they . . . praised the gods of gold, and of silver . . . and of stone,' the LXX adds 'but the eternal God they praised not who hath power over their spirit.' The contrast between the idols made with hands and the eternal God from whom all life comes is full of force, and probably original, and the

5 In the same hour came forth the fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the
6 part of the hand that wrote. Then the king's [a] countenance was changed in him, and his thoughts troubled him; and the joints of his loins were loosed, and his
7 knees smote one against another. The king cried aloud

[a] Aram. *brightness.*

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internal evidence and that of the LXX is confirmed by the fact that the two statements are found together in ver. 23 in the Massoretic and all the Versions.

5–12. *The marvellous writing on the wall, and the alarm of the king and his guests.*

5. part of the hand. Rather 'palm of the hand.' The text seems, as Bevan points out, to imply that the hand appeared above the couch where the king was reclining.

6. was changed in him. Both the text and the translation are wrong. For *shĕnohi* read *shĕno 'ălohi* or *shanain 'ălohi*, with Bevan. The sense will be the same in either case: 'his countenance was changed for him,' or 'upon him.' We have then the same idiom that is found in vi. 18. In fact it is not necessary to translate the prepositional phrase in English.

loins. The loins were the seat of strength: cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11, Ps. lxix. 23.

7–8. There is something wrong about the text here. As it stands the wise men appear twice on no intelligible grounds before the king. Thus in ver. 7 the king addresses them as already present, and tells them the gifts that he would give to the successful interpreter of the mysterious writing. But ver. 8 begins as though no such event had taken place, and reads 'Then came in all the king's wise men.' In the LXX this awkwardness is avoided. According to it the king first of all summoned the wise men to interpret the writing. These came in in due course, but were unable to interpret the writing. Then the king issued a proclamation setting forth the rewards that would be conferred on the man, whoever he might be, who made known the writing to the king. The wise men are not summoned; for the invitation is now general. The wise men again enter to try their skill, but again fail.

It is obvious that we have here in the LXX a rational order of events. It is moreover supported by Josephus. For a detailed study of the question I must refer to my larger Commentary.

to bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the
soothsayers. The king spake and said to the wise men
of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew
me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with
purple, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and
shall [a] be the third ruler in the kingdom. Then came 8
in all the king's wise men: but they could not read the
writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation.
Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his 9
countenance was changed in him, and his lords were
perplexed. *Now* the queen by reason of the words of 10

[a] Or, *rule as one of three*

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7. enchanters, &c. See note on ii. 2.

purple. The successful wise man was to be clothed with purple – a privilege which gave him a royal dignity among the Persians, Esther viii. 15, and the right of being called the king's friend (1 Macc. x. 20, 62, 64, xi. 58, &c.).

chain of gold. Cf. the gift of Pharaoh to Joseph (Gen. xli. 42); of Cambyses to the Ethiopians in Herod. iii. 20; and of the younger Cyrus to Syennesis (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 27). According to the last writer (*Cyr.* xiii. 5. 18) such chains could only be worn when presented by the king. Thus they formed a kind of order.

shall be the third ruler. This translation is inaccurate, as also in 16, 29. The word here translated 'third' is not found elsewhere as the ordinal. The proper word is *tĕlīthai.* Driver takes it to be connected with '*tilta* or *tulta*, which both in the Targums and in the Syriac denotes **a third part.** . . . Hence the literal rendering appears to be "shall rule as a third part in the kingdom" . . . "rule as one of three" '– i. e. one of the three chief ministers. Cf. quotation from Esdras below. He quotes the LXX here in support of this rendering: *δοθήσεται αὐτῷ ἐξουσία τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῆς βασιλείας.* Marti (adducing 1 Esdras iii. 9 *οἱ τρεῖς μεγιστᾶνες τῆς Περσίδος*) suggests that we should read *taltai* = triumvir. Wright takes this to mean that the place offered was to be third after Nabuna'id and Belshazzar, but this explanation requires us to suppose that Nebuchadnezzar was not the father but the grandfather of Belshazzar.

10. According to the LXX (ver. 9) the king summoned the queen.

the queen. That this queen was the queen mother is to be inferred from the facts, first that she is not included among the

the king and his lords came into the banquet house: the queen spake and said, O king, live for ever; let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be
11 changed: there is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him: and the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, [a] the king, *I say*, thy father, made him master of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and
12 soothsayers; forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of dark sentences, and dissolving of doubts,

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[a] Or, *thy father, O king*

wives of the king (ver. 2), and secondly that she speaks apparently from personal knowledge of the events of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (ver. 11). In Israel and Judah the queen-mother enjoyed great influence: see 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Kings x. 13, xxiv. 12: Herodotus mentions in this respect Amestris (ix. 109), and also Nitokris the wife of Nebuchadnezzar (i. 185–188), who was notable for her cleverness and wisdom.

O king, live for ever. Cf. ii. 4.

11. in whom is the spirit. See iv. 8 note.

wisdom, like . . . the gods. Cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 20.

the king, I say, **thy father.** These words, if otherwise the present form of the text is correct, are an intrusion. Theod. omits them.

made him master of the magicians. See ii. 48.

12. interpreting . . . dissolving. These two words are participles in the text, but by a change of punctuation can be transformed into infinitives, i.e. nouns, as the R.V. has done without, however, giving notice to that effect in the margin. We should, further, with Marti, either insert an 'and' before 'interpreting' or an 'in': thus 'understanding in the interpreting of dreams,' &c.

shewing of dark sentences. The Hebrew form of this Aramaic phrase to be found in Judges xiv. 14, 15, 19. The R.V. rendering is obscure. Better 'declaring of riddles' or 'of what is hidden.' The Hebrew synonym (which is also etymologically the same) means 'hard questions' in 1 Kings x. 1, 'problem' or 'enigma' in Ps. xlix. 4.

were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named
Belteshazzar. Now let Daniel be called, and he will
shew the interpretation.

Then was Daniel brought in before the king. The 13
king spake and said unto Daniel, Art thou that Daniel,
which art of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom
the king my father brought out of Judah? I have heard 14
of thee, that the spirit of the gods is in thee, and that
light and understanding and excellent wisdom is found
in thee. And now the wise men, the enchanters, have been 15
brought in before me, that they should read this writing,
and make known unto me the interpretation thereof:
but they could not shew the interpretation of the thing.
But I have heard of thee, that thou canst give interpreta- 16
tions, and dissolve doubts: now if thou canst read the
writing, and make known to me the interpretation
thereof, thou shalt be clothed with purple, and have
a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt [a] be the third
ruler in the kingdom. Then Daniel answered and said 17

[a] Or, *rule as one of three*

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dissolving of doubts. This rendering is wrong. Bevan has rightly taken the noun to mean 'magic knots,' although unaware of the parallel in 1 Enoch viii. 3 where we have the Greek equivalent, i. e. ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήριον 'the resolving of enchantments.' In 1 Enoch xcv. 4 we have 'anathemas which cannot be reversed.' Theodotion's rendering of our text confirms this view, λύων συνδέσμους.

13–17. *Daniel comes before the king.*

13. Art thou that Daniel? We should, as the pronoun is emphatic, render 'art *thou* Daniel?' The 'that' is a mistranslation.

captivity. Better 'exile.' Cf. ii. 25, vi. 13.

16. dissolve doubts. Read 'resolve knots.' See ver. 12.

shalt be the third ruler. See on ver. 7.

17–24. Before interpreting the writing Daniel reminds the king of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar his father; that, notwith-

before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; nevertheless I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpreta-
18 tion. O thou king, the Most High God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father the kingdom, and greatness, and glory,
19 and majesty: and because of the greatness that he gave him, all the peoples, nations, and languages trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he
20 raised up, and whom he would he put down. But when his heart was lifted up, and his spirit was hardened that he dealt proudly, he was deposed from his kingly throne,
21 and they took his glory from him: and he was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling was with the wild asses; he was fed with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven: until he knew that the Most High God ruleth in the kingdom of men, and that he setteth up
22 over it whomsoever he will. And thou his son, O

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standing the warning of his fate, he too has been uplifted by pride and has challenged the power of the God of heaven by his profanation of the sacred vessels of the Temple.

17. Let thy gifts be to thyself . . . another. These words, which conflict with ver. 29, are omitted by the LXX.

18. the kingdom, &c. Cf. iv. 36.

19. whom he would he slew, &c. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 7, Ps. lxxv. 7, Sir. vii. 11, Tob. iv. 19.

20. his glory. The Massoretic reads '(his) glory.' We should probably, with the Peshitto, read 'his glory.' The R.V. wrongly represents the 'his' as in the text.

21. This verse summarizes statements made in iv. 25, 32, 33.

the wild asses. These animals are here named specially because they are the wildest and shyest of creatures (Job xxxix. 5-8). The king was to avoid all contact with mankind as much as they. But there is something to be said for the reading of the solitary MS. which gives *'adarayya* = 'flocks' instead of *'aradayya* 'wild asses.' Cf. iv. 15, 25. There is no special need *here* for intensifying this feature of the punishment.

Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou
knewest all this; but hast lifted up thyself against the 23
Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of
his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives
and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou
hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron,
wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know:
and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are
all thy ways, hast thou not glorified: then was the part 24
of the hand sent from before him, and this writing was
inscribed. And this is the writing that was inscribed, 25
[a] MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. This is the interpre- 26

[a] That is, *Numbered, numbered, weighed, and divisions.*

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23. of silver, and gold. Read, with Theod., 'of gold and of silver.'

which see not, &c. The unreasonableness of idolatry is here as often elsewhere dwelt on: cf. Deut. iv. 28, Isa. xliv. 9, Ps. cxv. 5, 6, cxxxv. 16, Rev. ix. 20. The Epistle of Jeremy has this subject for its theme.

thy breath. Cf. Acts xvii. 25.

and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. All the varied activities of life are alike dependent on Him. Theod. connects the preposition and suffix differently: 'and all thy ways, Him thou hast not glorified.'

24. part of the hand. Read 'palm of the hand.'

25–28. *The writing and its interpretation.*

25. This verse has been variously interpreted, but no interpretation seems as yet definitive. 1°. The usual one is that *Mene, mene, teḳel, upharsin,* means 'Counted, counted, weighed and pieces.' Against this it is to be observed that *tĕḳēl* and *pĕrēs* cannot mean 'weighed' and 'divided,' as the interpretation in verses 27, 28 demands. These words in their present form are substantives. Further the explanation in 26–28 takes no account of the repetition of *mĕnē* and simply replaces *upharsin* by *pĕrēs.* From these facts it is inferred that no very close connexion exists between the inscription and its interpretation, and that, as Bevan has suggested, the words themselves were not arbitrarily invented by the author but borrowed from some other source. In that source they must have already stood in some relation to the events in the text, else our author would hardly have used them in his tation of the thing: MENE; God hath numbered thy

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account, since the interpretation in 26-28 is a real *tour de force*, resorted to in order to give them a meaning in regard to the present crisis.

2°. Owing to these difficulties many modern scholars, including Nöldeke, Bevan, Driver, and Marti, have accepted the explanation put forward by Clermont-Ganneau (*Journal Asiatique*, 'Mane, Thecal, Phares,' 1886), who points out that this inscription consists simply of the names of three weights. Thus *mĕnē* is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *māneh*, which was borrowed by the Greeks and written *μνᾶ*, Latin, *mina*. *Tĕḳēl* is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew *sheḳel*. *Parsin* is the plural of *pĕrēs* in ver. 28.

The *peras* in the Mishnah and other Jewish writings is the designation for half a mina. Thus the inscription is—*a mina*, *a mina*, *a shekel and half a mina*. The strange order of the coins in this inscription has led to the suggestion that the mina—the greatest weight—refers to the great king Nebuchadnezzar, the shekel (= one-sixtieth of a mina), to Belshazzar, and the two half-minas to the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians arising out of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom. In this view the words formed a current saying which described in a humorous way the history of Babylon and its overthrow. Finally Haupt and Prince remark that the first *mĕnē* is to be taken as a participle = 'counted'. Thus we should have 'it was counted, a mina, a shekel and two half-minas.'

3°. Still another explanation is offered by Winckler in *KAT.*, 341. According to Winckler it is obvious that in the text, 'a mina, a mina, a shekel and half a mina,' the word 'shekel' is an interpolation. We have then 2½ minas which represent 2½ years, on the expiration of which Cambyses, who is the Belshazzar that desecrates the Temple vessels, shall die. According to Winckler the chief incidents attributed to Belshazzar were originally recounted in connexion with Cambyses. For 2½ years more—such is the real meaning of 'a time, times and half a time' in vii. 25, xii. 7—worship in the Temple was suspended. These fractions originated in the method of reckoning time by lustres or periods of five years, which in a subsequent redaction of the book was displaced by the later method of reckoning by weeks of years. See *KAT.*, 284 sq.

4°. Not improbably the text itself is wrong, and the Versions are right, i. e. *mane*, *teḳel*, *pares*. Thus, according to Theod. and the Vulgate in v. 25, according to LXX in the title to the chapter, the inscription was written: *manē*, *tekel*, *pares*. The reading of the Massoretic (*upharsin*, i.e. *u* 'and,' *parsin* 'half minas' or 'Persians') would then be explained as an explanatory marginal gloss, which

kingdom, and brought it to an end. TEKEL; thou art 27
weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. [a] PERES; 28
thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and
Persians. Then commanded Belshazzar, and they 29
clothed Daniel with purple, and put a chain of gold
about his neck, and made proclamation concerning him,
that he should [b] be the third ruler in the kingdom. In 30
that night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was slain. And 31
Darius the Mede received the kingdom, being about
threescore and two years old.

[a] That is, *Divided* [b] Or, *rule as one of three*

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simply meant 'Persians,' which subsequently displaced the original *perēs* or rather *pares* (as in Versions). Moreover the interpretation in 26–28 presupposes this to be the inscription, and likewise the account of Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 3. The three words would then refer to Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and the Persians, and the relative merits of the first two exhibited by the comparison of the mina and shekel. Each word had thus a double signification. *Mane* (so Versions, though it should be read *mana*) would mean 'mina,' but would suggest *menē*, 'numbered': hence the days of Belshazzar are numbered; *teḳēl* means 'shekel,' but points to *teḳēl* 'weighed'—hence 'thou art weighed,' &c.; *pares* (i. e. *paras*) means 'Persian' and suggests *perēs* (= divided): 'thy kingdom is divided and given to the Persians.' Perhaps it would be better to take *pares* in the Versions as a mistake for *peras* = 'half a mina.' The inscription would then run: *mane*, *teḳel*, *peras*, i. e. 'mina, shekel, half a mina,' where *peras* (= 'half a mina') would be a comment on Belshazzar as a worthless son of a great father, and would likewise suggest *paras* 'the Persians.'

29. the third ruler. See note on 7.

31. Darius the Mede. Our author clearly believed (1) that Darius was the sole and independent sovereign of the Babylonian Empire, and (2) that his reign intervened between the Babylonian and Persian dynasties.

1°. Darius is not conceived as a vassal king, but as an independent sovereign; for he enjoys the title of king (vi. 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, &c.): as sole ruler divides the vast empire into 120 satrapies (vi. 1), and as absolute despot sentences all the rulers of these satrapies to death by a single decree (vi. 24). When he dies he is succeeded by Cyrus the Persian (vi. 28). That our text, therefore, regards Darius the Mede as the sole and absolute king of the

6 It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty satraps, which should be through-

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Babylonian empire cannot be questioned. In this respect, therefore, even if it were proved that Cyrus made Gobryas his general king of Babylon and gave him the name of Darius, it would be impossible to reconcile the conception of Darius in our text with that of a vassal king such as this Gobryas.

2°. According to our author a Median king reigned between the Babylonian and Persian sovereignties. This is the natural meaning of vi. 28 (cf. ix. 1, 2, xi. 1 with x. 1). But (*a*) this view is against Isa. xl–xlviii (post-exilic), where Cyrus is represented as having been God's agent in overthrowing Babylon, and becoming its king. No Median dynasty intervenes. In Ezra v. 13 he is called 'king of Babylon,' though elsewhere more frequently 'king of the Persians,' 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, Ezra i. 1, &c. (*b*) Neither Berosus nor any ancient writer knows anything of a Median sovereignty after the fall of Babylon. (*c*) In the annals of Nabuna'id and the Cyrus cylinder Cyrus is the immediate successor of Nabuna'id on the throne of Babylon.

In short, no room can be found in the sacred records for Cyrus in the reign of Darius, and none for Darius in the reign of Cyrus in the secular records, so far as our present knowledge goes.

The idea that a Median king ruled over the world after the overthrow of the Babylonian kingdom is probably to be traced, as Bevan has suggested, to two facts. The first of them is that it was known that a Median empire had existed before the Persians had established their supremacy. The second is to be traced to our author's study of O.T. prophecy, where it was foretold that the Medes would conquer Babylon: Isa. xiii. 17, Jer. li. 11, 28. That these prophecies had been fulfilled in default of any knowledge to the contrary was a natural supposition on the part of our author.

received the kingdom: i.e. from God. Cf. 28, 'given to the Medes and Persians.'

vi. In iii. 1–30 the aim of our author was to direct his people how to act in their relations to a heathen religion and to admonish them not to acknowledge or share in its worship, but rather to prefer death to apostasy. In this chapter it is his aim to enforce the duty of observing *their own religion*. And since during the exile this observance could not extend beyond acts of private and personal worship, it is just this side of the Jewish religion that has to be brought forward here, and it is the necessity of emphasizing this side that obliged our author to introduce certain unlikely or incredible features into his story, such as the king's issuing such

out the whole kingdom; and over them three presidents, 2
of whom Daniel was one; that these satraps might give
account unto them, and that the king should have no
damage. Then this Daniel was distinguished above the 3
presidents and the satraps, because an excellent spirit
was in him; and the king thought to set him over the
whole realm. Then the presidents and the satraps sought 4
to find occasion against Daniel as touching the kingdom;
but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch
as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault
found in him. Then said these men, We shall not 5
find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it
against him concerning the law of his God. Then these 6

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a preposterous edict as that in the text and his failure to consult the chiefest and wisest of his great officers before issuing such an edict. These and other such features, however, appear no longer unreasonable when they serve to manifest Daniel's faithful observance of his religion *in private*. By such a story or parable our author sought to encourage his countrymen, who under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes were precluded in the main from all acts of public worship, to be true and hold fast to the life of private devotion, even as Daniel had done.

1–2. Darius appoints 120 satraps with three presidents, of whom Daniel was chief.

1. an hundred and twenty satraps. On 'satraps' see iii. 2. According to Herodotus iii. 89 sqq., the kingdom was divided into 20 satrapies, and this was first done under Darius Hystaspis. In Esther i. 1, viii. 9, 1 Esdras iii. 2, Add. to Esther ii. 1, v. 1 there were 127 provinces. The number in our text may have been suggested thereby.

2. presidents. The Aram. word, which is found also in the Targums, is said to be from the Persian *sarak* 'chief' from *sar* 'head.'

3. excellent spirit was in him. Cf. v. 12.

4. as touching the kingdom, i. e. in his administration of his official duties in contrast to his observance of his religious duties (ver. 5).

neither was there any error . . . in him. This clause should be exercised as a dittograph. The LXX and Theod. omit.

5. law. The same *dath* is here used for law as in ii. 9, 13, 15,

presidents and satraps [a] assembled together to the king,
7 and said thus unto him, King Darius, live for ever. All the presidents of the kingdom, the deputies and the satraps, the counsellors and the governors, have consulted together [b] to establish a royal statute, and to make a strong

[a] Or, *came tumultuously* (and so in vv. 11, 15)

[b] Or, *that the king should establish a statute, and make &c.*

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vi. 8, 12, 15. Here, as in Ezra vii. 12, 14 sq., it denotes the Jewish law.

6. assembled together: Aram. *hargishu.* R.V. *marg.* 'came tumultuously.' The best modern scholars support the latter rendering—adducing the Aramaic of the Targums on Ruth i. 9, Ps. xlvi. 6, and the Hebrew in Ps. ii. 1. This word occurs again in vi. 11, 15. But the translation 'came tumultuously' is not suitable to the context either in vi. 6 or in vi. 11. In the former verse, where the presidents and satraps are approaching the king with a view to securing a favour, such a manner of approach would be unseemly. They wish to secure the king's assent to a law which they are secretly directing against Daniel. Here the LXX renders *προσήλθοσαν*, which elsewhere in this book is always a rendering of *ḳĕribu* as it is also in Theodotion. The Peshiṭto actually gives this Aramaic word. Hence it is not at all improbable that *ḳĕribu* stood originally in the text, and that we should render: 'Then these presidents . . . drew near to the king.'

Now turning to vi. 11 we observe how hopelessly unsuitable the words 'came thronging' or 'tumultuously' are in such a connexion. The presidents and other great officers of the king have succeeded in getting a law enacted against Daniel. Their next object is to *detect* Daniel in the act of breaking this law. What writer would in such a case represent them as 'flocking tumultuously' to Daniel's house. Here again the Versions come to our aid. The LXX, Theodotion, the Peshiṭto, and Vulgate give the rendering 'kept watch' or 'spied upon.' Now this meaning of *hargishu* is actually found in the Jerusalem Targum of Exod. ii. 3 and in Hebrew in the Mishna of the Jerusalem Talmud. Hence we should without hesitation render: 'Then these men kept watch upon and found Daniel praying.' On vi. 15 see note.

7. All the presidents. Is this misrepresentation made deliberately in order to lead the king to believe that Daniel had taken part in this appeal to the king?

the deputies and the satraps, &c. See note on iii. 2.

to establish a royal statute. The R.V. margin here is best **'that the king should establish a statute.'** The officers of the

interdict, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any god
or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be
cast into the den of lions. Now, O king, establish the 8
interdict, and sign the writing, that it be not changed,
according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which
[a] altereth not. Wherefore king Darius signed the writing 9
and the interdict. And when Daniel knew that the 10
writing was signed, he went into his house; (now his
windows were open in his chamber toward Jerusalem;)
and he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and

[a] Aram. *passeth not away.*

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king could not do so themselves: the king does so in vi. 9. The difficulty is due to the subject of the infinitive being placed at the end of the clause.

or man. These words are omitted by the LXX and apparently rightly. For that no man should be allowed for thirty days to make a single request of any of his neighbours is too extravagant to be taken seriously. The text is concerned only with prayer directed to a god. This is clear from ver. 8, where Daniel's enemies admit that they can find no occasion against him save in the law of his God.

save of thee, O king. For thirty days the king would be honoured as a god.

den of lions. The Assyrian and Persian kings kept lions in enclosures for hunting purposes.

8. which altereth not. Cf. Esther i. 19, viii. 8.

10. now his windows, &c. More literally: 'now he had in his chamber windows opening.'

windows. These were of the nature of lattices: cf. Prov. vii. 6.

his chamber. Aram. *'illīthēh*: cf. the Greek *ὑπερῷον*. The chamber was an apartment raised on the flat roof of the house: cf. Acts x. 9 *ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα*. Such a chamber was specially used for prayer, mourning, and acts of devotion: cf. Isa. xxii. 1, Ps. cii. 7, Acts x. 9, Judith viii. 5. It was such a chamber that was built on the roof for Elisha by the Shunammite, 2 Kings iv. 10.

toward Jerusalem. The custom of turning to the east became usual, no doubt, from the Exile onwards. Cf. Tob. iii. 11, 1 Esdras iv. 58, Berakh. iv. 5, 6. Authority for turning to Jerusalem was to be found in 1 Kings viii. 44, towards the Temple in viii. 35, 48. Cf. Ezek. viii. 16 sqq., Ps. v. 7, xxviii. 2.

three times a day. Cf. Ps. lv. 17, 2 Enoch li. 4. These

prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did afore-
11 time. Then these men assembled together, and found
Daniel making petition and supplication before his God.
12 Then they came near, and spake before the king concerning the king's interdict; Hast thou not signed an interdict, that every man that shall make petition unto any god or man within thirty days, save unto thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions? The king answered and said, The thing is true, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which [a] altereth not.
13 Then answered they and said before the king, That Daniel, which is of the children of the captivity of Judah,

[a] Aram. *passeth not away.*

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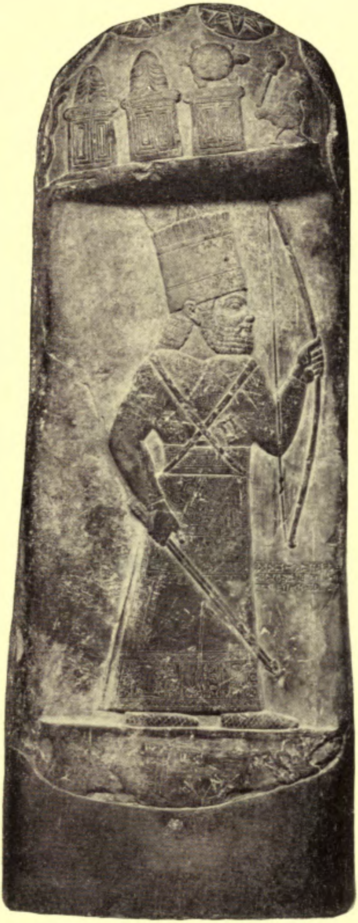
three hours were at the time of the morning burnt-offering, in the afternoon when the evening meal was offered—the ninth hour: cf. ix. 21, Ezra ix. 5, Judith ix. 1, Acts iii. 1, x. 30, and at sunset; Berakh. iii. 3, iv. 1.

before his God. As Dalman (*The Words of Jesus*, 209–13) points out, it was the practice of the later Jews to speak, pray, or confess *before* God rather than *to* Him. Likewise a man was said to blaspheme or sin *before* God, i.e. against Him. This was due to their sense of reverence. And as divine honours were in part paid to oriental monarchs this usage was extended to them. Thus men spoke not *to* the king but *before* him. Cf. ii. 9, 10, 11, 27, 36, v. 17. In vi. 22 Daniel affirms that he has done no wrong *before* the king. But the above usage was carried still further, and actions were said to have been done or left undone *before* God, when the actions in question were those which God Himself either did or did not do. Thus in Luke xii. 6, the words 'not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God' means God does not forget one of them. Even volition might not be directly predicated of God: in Matt. xviii. 14 the text, literally rendered, is: 'it is not a thing willed before (θέλημα ἔμπροσθεν) your Father which is in heaven.' That is, God does not will that. Or again in Matt. xi. 26 'so it was well-pleasing in thy sight.'

11. assembled together. Read 'kept watch on' or 'spied upon.' See note on ver. 6.

12. or man. We should omit these words as in ver. 7 (see note) with the LXX.



British Museum, 99 [9084]

BABYLONIAN KING

(*Probably* B.C. 1100)

regardeth not thee, O king, nor the interdict that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day.
Then the king, when he heard these words, was sore 14
displeased, and set his heart on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured till the going down of the sun to rescue
him. Then these men assembled together unto the king, 15
and said unto the king, Know, O king, that it is a law of the Medes and Persians, that no interdict nor statute
which the king establisheth may be changed. Then the 16
king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast him into the den of lions. *Now* the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will
deliver thee. And a stone was brought, and laid upon 17
the mouth of the den; and the king sealed it with his own signet, and with the signet of his lords; [a] that nothing
might be changed concerning Daniel. Then the king 18
went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were [b] instruments of music brought before him: and his

[a] Or, *that there might be no change of purpose* [b] Or, *dancing girls*

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13. regardeth not thee. Read 'obeyeth not thee' as in iii. 12 (see note).

maketh his petition. Add with the LXX and Theod. 'to his God.' Cf. verses 10, 11.

15. This verse comes in here awkwardly. In the preceding verse the text presupposes Daniel's adversaries as present before the king. What then is to be made of this verse which begins: 'Then these men assembled together'? Something seems wrong. We might perhaps with Theodotion omit the words 'assembled together unto the king and'. This certainly removes the difficulty. But the order and possibly the form of the text in the LXX are probably to be preferred, which omits the above clause and transfers this verse before ver. 13. The text of the LXX, which diverges greatly here, is in part supported by the account in Josephus. See my larger Commentary for details.

17. his own signet. Seals were used throughout the ancient world. See Art. 'Ring' in the *Encyc. Bib.* and 'Seal' in Hastings' *BD.*

18. instruments of music. The real meaning of the word

19 sleep fled from him. Then the king arose very early in
the morning, and went in haste unto the den of lions.
20 And when he came near unto the den to Daniel, he cried
with a lamentable voice: the king spake and said to
Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God,
whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from
21 the lions? Then said Daniel unto the king, O king, live
22 for ever. My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut
the lions' mouths, and they have not hurt me: forasmuch
as before him innocency was found in me; and also
23 before thee, O king, have I done no hurt. Then was
the king exceeding glad, and commanded that they
should take Daniel up out of the den. So Daniel was
taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was
found upon him, because he had trusted in his God.
24 And the king commanded, and they brought those men
which had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the
den of lions, them, their children, and their wives; and
the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their
bones in pieces, or ever they came at the bottom of
the den.

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daḥawan is unknown. Theodotion and the Peshiṭto render it 'foods,' Ibn Ezra 'stringed instruments,' Saadi, 'dancing girls.' It is perhaps best, with Marti and Prince, to regard *dachawan* as corrupt for *l*^{e}*ḥēnan* = 'concubines' (v. 2, 3, 23).

But it is possible that the text is here simply corrupt, and that for ודחון לא הנעל we should with the LXX and Josephus read דוי הוה על דניאל = 'he grieved about Daniel.' *Daḥawan* would then be a *vox nihili*.

20. the living God. Cf. Deut. v. 26, Joshua iii. 10, &c.

22. before thee. See note on ver. 10.

24. accused. See iii. 8, note.

had the mastery of them, or 'fell upon them,' as in the Targums on 2 Sam. i. 15, and in the corresponding Hebrew in Esther ix. 1 according to many scholars.

or ever: a reduplicated form of 'ere' = 'before.'

Then king Darius wrote unto all the peoples, nations, 25
and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be
multiplied unto you. I make a decree, that in all the 26
dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before
the God of Daniel: for he is the living God, and stedfast
for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be
destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end:
he delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and 27
wonders in heaven and in earth; who hath delivered
Daniel from the power of the lions. So this Daniel 28
prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus
the Persian.

In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel 7

25–28. *The edict of the king.* This edict is composed almost wholly of turns and phrases found in the earlier chapters, and the essential thought of the historical section of the book is here set forth in metrical form.

25. Cf. iv. 1.

26. I make a decree. So iii. 29.

tremble and fear. This phrase has been used in reference to Nebuchadnezzar in v. 19.

26^b–27. The text should probably be arranged as follows:

'For he is the living God,
And he abideth for ever:
And his kingdom is one that cannot be destroyed,
And his dominion is everlasting:
He delivereth and rescueth,
And worketh signs and wonders
In heaven and in earth,
Who hath delivered Daniel
From the power of the lions.'

26. his kingdom, &c. Cf. ii. 44, iv. 3, 34 b, vii. 14, 27.

27. delivereth and rescueth. Cf. iii. 28, 29.

signs and wonders. Cf. iv. 2, 3.

from the power. This general expression recalls the more definite one in 1 Sam. xvii. 37 'from the claws of the lion.'

VII–XII. THE VISIONS OF DANIEL.

vii. The vision in this chapter is parallel with that in chapter ii.

[a] had a dream and visions of his head upon his bed:

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[a] Aram. *saw.*

The four world kingdoms followed by a fifth—that of the Saints—are the subject of both, the four kingdoms being symbolized by the four parts of the great image in ii and the four beasts in vii.

Three questions call for consideration. These are 1°. The four world empires. 2°. The ten horns. 3°. The three horns plucked up.

The Four World Empires. Only two interpretations that gained the suffrages of the centuries immediately following the publication of Daniel have any claims to consideration here.

1°. The first, of which only a few, but undubitable, traces survive, identified the fourth kingdom with the Greek empire, the other, which is attested in the first century of the Christian era, but probably originated earlier, identified it with the Roman empire. It goes without saying that, if the latter had been first in the field, the former could never have gained a hearing after the close of the second century B.C.; for then the Roman and not the Greek empire was all powerful in the East. This first interpretation, which is also the true one, passed out of currency just because history had failed to confirm it. In this, as in other instances of unfulfilled prophecy, the faithful applied themselves anew to the study of the prophecy in question, and so a fresh interpretation of the four kingdoms was issued, which discovered in the fourth kingdom the empire of Rome.

Since this is a simple statement of historical fact, it will be unnecessary to enter here on the vagaries of mediaeval and modern hermeneutics on this chapter. It will be sufficient to give briefly the evidence for the above statements.

(*a*) According to the older and true interpretation the four kingdoms were (1) the Babylonian, (2) the Median, (3) the Persian, (4) the Greek or Macedonian. The identification of the Selucidae or Greek rulers of Syria with the fourth kingdom first appears, though in a veiled form, as befits the character of the work, in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 388–400. This portion of the book, which was written not later than 140 B.C., refers to the ten horns of our text.

388 'One day there shall come unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land
A man clad with a purple cloak upon his shoulders,
Savage, a stranger to justice, fiery; for he hath exalted himself
Even against the thunder, a mortal as he is. And all Asia shall have an evil yoke,
And the drenched earth shall drink large draughts of blood.

then he wrote the dream and told the sum of the matters.

But even so Hades shall attend him utterly destroyed.
By the race of those whose family he wishes to destroy
By them shall his own family be destroyed.
Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off
From among ten horns, he shall put forth a side shoot.
He shall cut down the warrior parent of the purple race,
And †he himself at the hand of his grandsons shall perish in a like fate of war†:
And then a parasite horn shall have dominion.'

(Translated by Lanchester in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 385–86.)

In these verses we have the interpretation put on the ten horns of the fourth kingdom. It may not, it is true, agree exactly with any modern identification of the ten 'horns' or kings, but it is at one with them in regarding the 'horns' as kings of the Greek empire. In the Sibyllines 'the man clad with a purple cloak' is Antiochus Epiphanes. The race, which Antiochus Epiphanes wished to destroy, was that of his brother Seleucus IV, Philopator. But the son of the latter, Demetrius I (162–150 B.C.), shall put to death the 'one root' which Antiochus left, i. e. Antiochus V, Eupator (164–162 B.C.), or, in the words of the Sibyl, 'shall cut (him) off from among ten horns.' Demetrius I was in turn slain by 'the side shoot,' i. e. Alexander Balas, who claimed to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and reigned from 150 to 146 B.C. He was slain by Demetrius II and Ptolemy VI, Philometor (1 Macc. xi. 1–19), and not by the former and Antiochus VII as the Sibyllines state. The parasite horn is Trypho, who had his ward Antiochus VI removed and reigned in his stead from 142 to 137 B. C. The text of the Sibyllines is not free from corruption.

Again, 4 Ezra xii. 10–12 (A.D. 80–120), which interprets the fourth kingdom of the Roman empire, quite clearly states that this interpretation is not the interpretation which the angel gave to Daniel, i.e. that which identified the Greek empire with the fourth kingdom, and which till Rome became mistress of the East had been the accepted one. The passage in Ezra runs: xii. 10 'And he said unto me: This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. 11. The Eagle whom thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom, which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. 12. But it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee or have interpreted it.'

This interpretation was still prevalent in the third century A.D.; for it was recognized by Porphyry (A.D. 233–304), and in the fourth by Ephrem Syrus (A.D. 300–350).

2 Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and,

According, therefore, to the authentic interpretation of Dan. ii, vii, and viii the symbols are to be identified as follows:

Chap. ii. The great image.	vii. The four beasts.	Babylonian empire.
The golden head	= Lion with Eagle's wings.	
Silverbreast and arms	= Bear with three ribs in its mouth (= first and shorter horn of ram in viii).	Median empire.
Brass belly and thighs.	= Leopard with four wings (= second and higher horn of ram in viii).	Persian empire.
Iron legs, feet and toes, partly iron, partly clay.	= Beast with iron teeth and ten horns among which arose a little horn (= goat with one horn followed by four horns out of which arose a little horn in viii).	Greek empire.

(*b*) The second interpretation, which arose on the failure of the first and identified the Roman empire with the fourth kingdom, is found in the N. T. In Rev. xiii the first monster, which emerges from the sea with seven heads and ten horns, is the Roman empire. Again, in the 'Little Apocalypse' in Mark xiii (= Matt. xxiv = Luke xxi), the author of this Apocalypse clearly regarded Dan. ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11 as referring to the Roman empire (see Mark xiii. 14).

If we turn from the N.T. to early Jewish and Christian literature, we are justified in supposing that the author of the Assumption of Moses (A.D. 7–30) interpreted the fourth kingdom of Rome; for in viii–ix of this work there is an account of the calamities endured under Antiochus Epiphanes. That is in the past so far as the writer is concerned. Then as regards the future, he predicts the overthrow of Rome by Israel, ix. 8.

'Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy
And thou shalt mount on the necks and wings of the Eagle
And they shall be ended†:'

where the last two lines should probably be read as:

'And thou shalt go up against the Eagle
And its necks and wings shall be destroyed.'

But, however this may be, there can be no doubt as to the passage in 4 Ezra xii. 11–12 (*c.* A.D. 120) where the writer clearly implies that the angel in Dan. vii. 17–19, 23 sqq. misinterpreted Daniel's vision by identifying the Greek empire with the fourth beast. The same view is to be found in Ep. Barn. iv. 4–5 (*c.* A.D. 100–120), and in Hippolytus (*c.* A.D. 220), and in the Talmud—Aboda Zara 1^b.

behold, the four winds of the heaven brake forth upon

Some modern scholars have advocated this view, but it is wholly untenable. The former view is now accepted practically by the whole world of scholarship.

2°. *the ten horns.* The 'ten horns' represent ten kings (cf. ver. 24), and not ten kingdoms as in viii. 8, where the 'four horns' stand for four kingdoms. Now, since after these ten horns there arises another horn, the 'little horn,' and since this little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes, it follows that the ten preceding horns are kings. But owing to the paucity of our information it has not yet been determined definitely who these ten kings are. They have been taken to represent the successors of Alexander by many scholars; and so we have (1) Seleucus I, Nicator (312–280 B.C.) : (2) Antiochus I, Soter (279–261) : (3) Antiochus II, Theos (261–246) : (4) Seleucus II, Callinicus (246–226) : (5) Seleucus III, Ceraunus (226–223) : (6) Antiochus III, the Great (222–187) : (7) Seleucus IV, Philopator (186–176) : (8) Heliodorus : (9) Ptolemy VII, Philometor (182–146) : (10) Demetrius I, Soter. These last three had all stood in the way of Antiochus Epiphanes and had either directly or indirectly suffered at his hands in his efforts to secure the throne and establish his power. But as Hitzig, Kuenen, Bevan, and others urge, the list should begin with Alexander, since the fourth beast represents the Greek supremacy. Hence they begin the list with Alexander the Great and reckon the last three as (8) Seleucus IV, Philopator : (9) Heliodorus : (10) Demetrius I, Soter.

3°. *the three horns plucked up.* Of the ten horns three were to be 'plucked up' (ver. 8), overthrown (ver. 20), or 'put down' (ver. 24), by the eleventh horn, i. e. Antiochus Epiphanes. These were most probably the last three in the list of ten just given.

Antiochus Epiphanes would appear to the Jews, as may be inferred from our text, to have instigated the removal of Seleucus Philometor by Heliodorus. The latter, we know, he crushed through the help of his friends Attalus and Eumenes of Pergamum. The grounds are less cogent with regard to Demetrius Soter. It is true that he was the rightful heir of the kingdom, but he was kept out of his inheritance by Antiochus. He could hardly, therefore, be said to have reigned before Antiochus or to have been slain by him. On these grounds, it has been objected that Demetrius Soter cannot be rightly included in the above list. Instead of Demetrius Soter as the tenth king it has been suggested by von Gutschmidt that the last of the three horns was not this Demetrius but a brother of his, who was executed by the orders of Antiochus according to John of Antioch (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iv. 558, quoted by Bevan). If we accept this suggestion the last three princes satisfy fairly the conditions of the problem.

3 the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the
4 sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lion,

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vii. 1. In the first year of Belshazzar. The historical narratives are now at an end and a series of visions begins herewith. The first of these goes back to a date earlier than that of chap. v.

had. Literally 'saw' as in marg.

then he wrote the dream. From ver. 2 onwards throughout the book Daniel speaks in the first person unless in x. 1.

told the sum of the matters. . . . spake and said. These words may be a gloss. They are omitted by Theodotion: their omission restores the text to order. From the preceding words we learn that Daniel wrote down his visions. We are therefore to regard what follows as a transcript of the original account of his visions. But the words **told . . . said** represent Daniel as not only writing an account of his visions but also as subsequently recounting them *orally.* The LXX omits with Theodotion saving the clause 'the sum of the matters.' Instead, therefore, of 'he wrote . . . and said' we should probably read: 'he wrote the dream (and) the sum of matters,' i.e. a summary account of the vision.

2–8. *The four beasts.*

2. in my vision by night. The LXX, Theod. and Pesh. read as in vii. 7, 13 'in the visions of the night.'

four winds of the heaven. Cf. viii. 8, xi. 4, Zech. ii. 6, vi. 5.

brake forth upon the great sea. So the R.V., but this would naturally require עַל or בְּ before sea instead of לְ. Hence Lévy and Bevan suggest that the verb should be taken transitively as in the Targums: 'stirred up the great sea.'

the great sea. This is usually the Mediterranean (Joshua ix. 1). But not improbably it has a mythological meaning here: cf. Isa. li. 10, Ps. lxxiv. 13 sq. as Marti suggests.

3. came up from the sea. Cf. Rev. xiii. 1, Ezra xi. 1, xiii. 3.

4. Babylon is compared here to a lion in regard to its might (cf. Jer. xlix. 19, l. 17), and to an eagle because of its swiftness (cf. Jer. xlix. 22, Hab. i. 8). Its distinguishing characteristics belong naturally to the animal world. But after a time these animal characteristics disappear, and the Babylonian kingdom becomes so to speak humanized in the person of its head, i.e. Nebuchadnezzar; for there is obviously an allusion here to the experiences in chap. iv, Nebuchadnezzar being here, as in ii. 38, identified with the kingdom of Babylon. The beast's heart (iv. 16) was removed from him and his understanding restored (iv. 34, 36), so here the creature that represents Babylon receives the heart (i.e. the intelligence) of a man, and like him is made to stand upon its feet.

and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon two feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. And behold another beast, a 5 second, like to a bear, and [a] it was raised up on one side, and three ribs were in his mouth between his teeth: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh. After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which 6 had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it. After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth 7 beast, terrible and [b] powerful, and strong exceedingly;

[a] Or, as otherwise read, *it raised up one dominion*
[b] Or, *dreadful*

It must be confessed that the above explanation is rather forced, but this is owing to the combination of two really incongruous sets of ideas.

5. The Median Empire appears in the form of a bear. As the bear is inferior in strength to the lion, so the Median Empire was inferior to that of Babylon (ii. 39).

another . . . a second. One or other of these two words is a gloss. The former is omitted by Theod. and the Pesh.: the latter by the LXX and the Vulgate. The text in verse 6 supports the LXX and Vulgate.

it was raised up on one side. So some MSS., LXX, and Theod. The Massoretic reads 'it had raised up one side.' The difference is immaterial so far as the meaning goes, which is far from obvious. Perhaps the words point to its inferiority in respect to the first kingdom (ii. 39).

three ribs were in his mouth. These words may point to the ravenous nature of the beast—an idea suggested (Bevan) by those passages of the prophets in which the Medes are summoned to ravage Babylon (Isa. xiii. 17, Jer. li. 11, 28).

they said. Simply an Aramaism equivalent to 'it was said.'

6. upon the back of it. Rather 'on its sides.' The four wings are regarded as indicating the might of the Persian Empire as extending to the four quarters of the earth, and the four heads as symbolizing the four Persian kings (xi. 2).

7–8. *The fourth beast, i.e. the Greek Empire.*

and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and
8 it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another horn, a little one, before which three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the
9 eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things. I be-

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7. it was diverse from all, &c. These words give the impression created in the oriental mind by the conquests of Alexander. While the preceding empires had left local customs untouched, the Greek Empire overthrew the older civilization and transformed it radically. It did its task with thoroughness: 'it devoured and brake in pieces, and crushed the residue with its feet.'

it had ten horns. These are ten kings—most probably successors of Alexander on the throne of Antioch. See Introd. to this chapter. For the horn used as a symbol of a king, cf. verse 24, viii. 5, 8[a], 9, 21, 1 Enoch xc. 9, or a dynasty of kings viii. 3, 6, 7, 8[b], 20, 22.

8. another horn, a little one. Cf. viii. 9. The 'little horn' is Antiochus Epiphanes. He was 'little' to begin with, but soon achieved such power that three of the first horns were overthrown by him. Antiochus was not the lawful heir (xi. 21).

three of the first horns. These were most probably 1°. Seleucus IV (Philopator), who was murdered by his minister Heliodorus; 2°. Heliodorus, who soon after his usurpation was overthrown by Attalus and Eumenes of Pergamum; 3°. Demetrius I (Soter), who was the son and lawful heir of Seleucus IV (Philopator). But see Introd. to this chapter.

eyes like the eyes of a man. These imply the faculty of keen observation and therefore of intelligence. Cf. viii. 23.

a mouth speaking great things. Cf. Ps. xii. 3, 'the tongue that speaketh great things,' Obad. 12, Rev. xiii. 5. These words are very suitable to Antiochus Epiphanes, who was to 'speak marvellous things against the God of gods' (xi. 36). Cf. 1 Macc. i. 24, where it is said that after robbing the Temple of all its treasures he 'spake very presumptuously.' His conduct is described in analogous terms in 2 Macc. v. 17, 21.

and he made war with the saints. These words should be added to verse 8, with the LXX. This forms the crowning sin of the little horn, and the context requires it. Besides it is found in the like contexts in verses 21, 25. On the violent measures taken by Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jews, cf. 25, viii. 10–14, 24–25.

held till thrones were [a] placed, and one that was ancient

[a] Or, *cast down*

9–14. *Divine judgement of the heathen powers.* As in 1–8 Daniel saw on the earth in a vision of the first year of Belshazzar the four kingdoms that would successively hold the world in thrall, so here at their close his vision is carried from earth to heaven and he learns in the final judgement of God the right explanation of the course of the world's empires and their history. At this judgement which he foresees in his vision the thrones were set for the heavenly powers, the assessors of the Judge, and the Almighty Himself appeared seated on a throne of fire and encompassed with myriads of angelic beings. The books were opened, and the fourth beast was slain because of the horn that spoke great things, and the other three beasts had their dominion taken away. Then there came in the clouds of heaven a being like a son of man, and to him was given an everlasting dominion and a kingdom that should not pass away.

9–10. We have here two stanzas of three lines each.

9. thrones were placed: i. e. for the angelic assessors. On the expression cf. Ps. cxxii. 5, 'thrones for judgement.' Here, as in iv. 17, the heavenly powers take part with God in the judgement.

one that was ancient of days: lit. 'one aged in days.' This means simply *an aged being*. The same expression, as Driver points out, occurs in the Syriac version of Wisdom ii. 10 for 'an old man' and in Sir. xxv. 4 for 'elders.' The Hebrew equivalent occurs in Gen. xxiv. 1. Marti compares it with the expressions 'the first and the last,' Isa. xliv. 6, 'He that sitteth (enthroned) of old,' Ps. lv. 19, and 'the Eternal One,' 1 Bar. iv. 10, 14, 20. But there is no element of eternity in the phrase in our text. Hence it is an extraordinary expression to apply to God, and accordingly if we take into account the fact that throughout this and all other Jewish apocalypses every reference to or description of God is couched in terms of the utmost reverence, we must find it difficult to accept the phrase as original in its present form. If this is so it is not improbable that instead of 'one aged in days' the text originally read 'one like an aged being' or 'man.' This would be the true apocalyptic form of expression, resembling that in Ezek. i. 26, where the exceeding reverence of the seer's words should be observed. I, therefore, suggest that *K*^{e}*‘attiḳ yomin* = 'one like an aged being' was an apocalyptic designation of God in Aramaic. When this designation was once accepted, the next stage in its development would be possible, i. e. to drop the comparative particle and therewith the apocalyptic form of the expression and transform the indefinite expression into a definite: i. e. instead of

of days did sit: his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was fiery
10 flames, *and* the wheels thereof burning fire. A fiery

'like an aged being' we should have 'the aged being' (vii. 13, 22). We have an exactly similar development in the case of 'like a son of man' (Dan. vii. 13) and 'the Son of Man' (1 Enoch xlvi. 2, &c.). The latter expression has no meaning apart from its development out of 'like a son of man.' The phrase 'an aged being' denotes simply, as above said, *an old man.* But the apocalyptic phrase 'like an aged being' affirms at once a likeness and an unlikeness. The likeness consists in the dignified appearance of an aged man, the unlikeness in the fact that the Being so described is not a human but a supernatural being. In apocalyptic visions, where men or nations are symbolized by animals, supernatural beings are symbolized by men.

his raiment was white as snow. The Massoretic punctuation requires 'his raiment was as white snow.'

the hair of his head like pure wool. The suggestion of the context is that the hair was white. Hence unless we assume that wool is white, which of course it sometimes is, the comparison is not a good one. The LXX has here 'the hair of his head was spotless as white wool.' This reading has the support of 1 Enoch xlvi. 1, Rev. i. 14. See detailed criticism in my larger Commentary.

his throne was fiery flames, &c. We might compare 1 Enoch xiv. 18-22 with verses 9-10 of our text.

'And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne:
Its appearance was as crystal,
And the wheels thereof as the shining sun,
And there was the vision of cherubim.
19 And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire
So that I could not look thereon.
20 And the Great Glory sat thereon
And His raiment shone more brightly than the sun,
And was whiter than any snow . . .
22 The flaming fire was round about Him,
And a great fire stood before Him,
And none around could draw nigh Him.
Ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before Him,
Yet He needed no counsellor.'

the wheels thereof burning fire. Cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 18 quoted above, Ezek. i. 15 sqq.

10. A fiery stream . . . came forth from before him. Cf. Ps.

stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgement was set, and the books were opened. I beheld at that time 11
because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and he was given [a] to be burned with fire. And as for the rest of the beasts, their dominion 12
was taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time. I saw in the night visions, and, 13

[a] Aram. *to the burning of fire.*

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xcvii. 3, 'a fire goeth before Him,' also l. 3. On 'from before' see note on vi. 10.

thousand thousands, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2, 1 Enoch i. 9, xiv. 22, xl. 1, lxxi. 8, 13, Jude 14, 15.

stood before: i.e. were in attendance.

the judgement was set. 'The judgement here = those who judge, just as in Jer. xxiii. 18, Ps. lxxxix. 7 'council' (i.e. *sod*) = 'those who deliberate' (Bevan).

the books were opened. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 32 sq., Ps. lxix. 28, Isa. iv. 3, 1 Enoch xlvii. 3 (where see full note on this subject), Jubilees xxx. 20 sqq., Luke x. 20, Hebrews xii. 23, Rev. iii. 5, xx. 12.

11. The fourth beast is destroyed once and for all, because of the blasphemies of Antiochus Epiphanes (ver. 8); for then the guilt had become full (viii. 23).

I beheld 2°. This repetition is uncalled for. It is probably a gloss, for it is omitted by Theod. and also by the LXX as we learn from the Hexaplaric Syriac.

he was given to be burned with fire. This is the final place of punishment—a place of fire as 1 Enoch x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7–10, where the fallen angels were cast. These passages are older than our text. In xc. 24–27, which may have been written contemporaneously with our text, the same place of torment is referred to.

12. The three remaining beasts are not destroyed forthwith as the fourth beast. These heathen powers survive the loss of their dominion, as nations, not as kingdoms. In chapter ii the four kingdoms are destroyed simultaneously.

13–14. These verses form a stanza of six lines. Verse 13 consists of a distich of two double lines, verse 14 is a tetrastich:

behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of
14 days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

'And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom,
That all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him:
His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away,
And his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.'

came with the clouds of heaven. See following note. Cf. Mark xiii. 26, xiv. 62, Rev. i. 7, xiv. 14, 15, 16. Owing to this verse the Messiah was sometimes designated 'the Cloud Man.'

like unto a son of man. In apocalyptic visions, where men are symbolized by beasts, angels and supernatural beings are symbolized by men. This symbolism will be found on a large scale in 1 Enoch lxxxix–xc. If, therefore, the expression is to be taken strictly, it undoubtedly suggests a supernatural being, or a body of such beings. Since the beings thus referred to are, according to the interpretation of the angel, the people of the saints of the Most High (verses 18, 22, 27), we are to infer that the faithful remnant of Israel are to be transformed into heavenly or supernatural beings, as in 1 Enoch xc. 38 (161 B.C.), and in later apocalypses, which expect an everlasting kingdom upon earth.

That this is the meaning of the words is clear from the clause that follows, 'came with the clouds of heaven.' This clause undoubtedly implies superhuman authority and state.

How this passage gave rise subsequently to the Messianic designation can readily be understood from what precedes. The writer of the Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch xxxvii–lxxi) was the first student of Daniel vii, so far as existing literature goes, to interpret 'one like a son of man' in this passage as relating to an individual. The moment he did so, he rose to the conception of a superhuman Messiah, while following the natural method of interpreting the vision.

the ancient of days. See verse 9, note.

they brought him. This expression in Aramaic is simply equivalent to the passive: 'he was brought,' as in verse 5.

As for me Daniel, my spirit was grieved in the midst 15
of [a] my body, and the visions of my head troubled me.
I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked 16
him the truth concerning all this. So he told me, and
made me know the interpretation of the things. These 17
great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall
arise out of the earth. But the saints of the Most High 18

[a] Aram. *the sheath.*

15–28. *The interpretation of the vision.*

15. in the midst of my body: lit. 'in the midst of the (or "its") sheath.' The original בגו נדנה is generally regarded as corrupt for בגין דנה, 'on account of these things.' The LXX reads *ἐν τούτοις*, which supports the above restoration.

16. one of them that stood by. This is taken to mean one of the angels in attendance on God (ver. 13). This angel gives at first a short and summary answer (17–18), and afterwards a full interpretation in answer to Daniel's request for further information. In the visions of the earlier prophets God Himself spake to the prophet (Amos vii, viii, Isa. vi, Jer. i, &c.), but in Zech. i. 7–vi. 8, Daniel, 1 Enoch, Test. xii Patriarchs, Jubilees, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, the part of the interpreter is discharged by an angel. In Ezek. xl–xlviii we have a combination of both methods, and this section accordingly marks the period of transition from one method to the other.

17–18. The angel's reply forms a tetrastich.

17. These great beasts, which are four, &c. The words 'which are four' are omitted by the LXX. They are certainly unnecessary; for the seer knows perfectly well the number of the kingdoms. But further the words 'shall arise out of the earth' are certainly corrupt. According to vii. 3 they arise out of the sea: cf. Rev. xiii. 1, 4 Ezra xi. 1. By a careful study of the LXX and Theod. we arrive at the following text: 'these great beasts are four kingdoms, which shall be destroyed from the earth.' See my larger Commentary.

kings. The word here stands for 'kingdoms.'

18. the saints . . . shall receive the kingdom: i. e. from God. Cf. verse 27. Though the phrase 'kingdom of God' is not found in Daniel, yet we have here substantially the thought for which it stands. Furthermore the thought here is not 'the divine sovereignty'—the meaning now all but universally given to this phrase 'kingdom of God' in the N.T. and in Rabbinic writings, but 'a divinely organized community.' This is clear also from verse 14.

shall receive the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for
19 ever, even for ever and ever. Then I desired to know
the truth concerning the fourth beast, which was diverse
from all of them, exceeding terrible, whose teeth were of
iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in
20 pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet; and concerning the ten horns that were on his head, and the
other *horn* which came up, and before which three fell;
even that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake
great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows.
21 I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints,
22 and prevailed against them; until the ancient of days
came, and judgement was given [a] to the saints of the

[a] Or, *for*

Since the term for 'saints' (*ḳaddishin*) here is used specially of angels in iv. 13 and not that used universally in the Psalms (*ḥasid*), it is clear that the author expressly chose this term in order to indicate the heavenly origin of the kingdom and its members as opposed to that of the gentile powers. 'The saints of the Most High' (22^{a}, 25, 27) are spoken of simply as 'saints' in 21, 22^{b}. And as being heavenly in its origin it is likewise of everlasting duration. In verse 14 the sovereignty of the saints is described in terms that are elsewhere used of the sovereignty of God Himself: cf. iv. 3, 34, vi. 26.

19–22. *Daniel's request for further information.*

19. Cf. verses 7–8.

nails of brass: not mentioned before.

20. even that horn that had eyes: rather 'and as regards that horn, it had eyes and a mouth,' &c.

look (or 'appearance') **was more stout,** &c. The small horn (ver. 8) grew quickly to a great size (viii. 9).

21–22. A recapitulation of 8–12, 13–14. The only addition is the clause 'and prevailed against them'; for on verse 8 it has been shown that the clause 'and it made war with the saints' belonged originally to the text of that verse.

21. prevailed against them: till the intervention of the Most High. Cf. next verse.

22. the ancient of days: here the apocalyptic form of the expression (see verse 9) is dropped as in verse 13.

judgement was given to (or rather 'for') **the saints.** The

Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom. Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be 23 a fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all the kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall [a] tread it down, and break it in pieces. And as for 24 the ten horns, out of this kingdom shall ten kings arise: and another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the former, and he shall put down three kings. And he shall speak words against the Most High, and 25 shall wear out the saints of the Most High: and he shall think to change the times and the law; and they shall

[a] Or, *thresh it*

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saints do not judge, but God alone is Judge. Ewald, followed by most scholars, has restored יתב ושלטנא before יהב. Hence we should read 'the judgement (was set and dominion) was given to the saints.' Cf. vii. 10^b, 14, 26, 27.

the time came: i. e. the time fixed by God as the limit of the heathen rule. Cf. Luke xxi. 8 *ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν*.

23–27. The fuller answer of the angel in metrical form. Verse 23 forms a tetrastich with an initial long line.

'The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom upon earth,
Which shall be diverse from all the kingdoms,
And shall devour the whole earth,' &c.

Verse 24 forms also a tetrastich of which the words 'the ten horns' form the title. Verse 25 is also a tetrastich. See *in loc.* Verse 26 is a tristich, while verse 27 seems to be composed of two tristichs (Marti).

24. *The ten horns are ten kings.*

he shall be diverse, &c.: the eleventh king shall be diverse from the ten not only in removing his three predecessors but in his blasphemies against the Most High and his persecution of the saints.

25. 'And he shall speak words against the Most High,
And shall wear out the saints of the Most High:
And he shall think to change the times and the law,
And they shall be given,' &c.

wear out (or 'away'): cf. Isa. iii. 15, 1 Chron. xvii. 9.

the times and the law: Antiochus attempted to suppress the religious festivals of the Jews and the law: cf. 1 Macc. i. 44–49. 'Times' here are set times for religious observances, like Church seasons.

be given into his hand until a time and times and half
26 a time. But the judgement shall sit, and they shall take
away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto
27 the end. And the kingdom and the dominion, and the
greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall
be given to the people of the saints of the Most High:
his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions
28 shall serve and obey him. [a] Here is the end of the
matter. As for me Daniel, my thoughts much troubled
me, and my [b] countenance was changed in me: but
I kept the matter in my heart.

8 In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar a

[a] Aram. *Hitherto.* [b] Aram. *brightness.*

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a time and times and half a time: a 'time' here means a year. See iv. 16 note. Hence this period during which the Jewish religion was to be suppressed was three and a half years. This was the traditional limit assigned to the kingdom of the Antichrist. Here this period begins in 168 and terminates in 165 B. C. See note on viii. 14.

26-27. At the close of the three and a half years the judgement will take place, and the kingdom of the saints be established, which embraces every country under heaven and not merely the fourth kingdom.

26. judgement shall sit: cf. 10[b], 11[b], 22.

they shall take away his dominion: an Aramaism for 'his dominion shall be taken away.' The R.V. should have used the passive here as they have done in verse 12.

unto the end: cf. vi. 26.

27. his kingdom . . . obey him. Read 'its kingdom . . . obey it.' The pronoun refers not to God but to the saints.

28. thoughts . . . troubled me: cf. iv. 19, v. 6, 10.

changed in me. Read 'changed upon me' or simply 'changed.'

I kept the matter in my heart: cf. LXX iv. 25, T. Lev. vi. 2, viii. 19, Luke ii. 19.

Chap. viii. THE VISION OF THE VICTORY OF THE GREEK OVER THE MEDIAN AND PERSIAN EMPIRES, AND OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS, AND THE SUSPENSION OF THE TEMPLE WORSHIP BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after
that which appeared unto me at the first. And I saw in 2
the vision; now it was so, that when I saw, I was in
Shushan the [a] palace, which is in the province of Elam;
and I saw in the vision, and I was by the river Ulai.

[a] Or, *castle*

The aim of this chapter is to give fuller disclosures concerning those parts of the vision in chapter vii with which our author is mainly concerned. Although the vision is dated from the third year of Belshazzar it contains no reference to the Babylonian Empire. The two Empires of Media and Persia are represented under a single figure and dismissed in a few clauses in order the more speedily to deal with his main subject, the Empire of the Greeks. After recounting briefly the conquests of Alexander (5-8), he hastens on to relate the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, his persecution of the Jews, and his suspension of the worship in the Temple.

1. In the third year. See vii. 1 note.

at the first: i. e. previously as in vii.

2. The seer is carried in a vision to Shushan, as Ezekiel was carried to Jerusalem, Ezek. viii. 3-xi. 24, xl. 2 sqq.

Shushan the palace (or R.V. marg. 'castle'). This is the regular description of Shushan in O.T.: Neh. i. 1; Esther i. 2, 5, ii. 3, 5, 8, &c. The word for 'castle' or 'citadel,' i. e. *birah*, is late Hebrew from the Assyrio-Babylonian *birtu*, and found elsewhere only in 1 Chron. xxix. 1, 19, Ezra vi. 2, Neh. ii. 8, vii. 2. This citadel of Shushan, i. e. Susa, was celebrated in ancient times for its strength (Herod. v. 54). It is distinguished from the city in Esther iii. 15. Shushan was in later times probably the capital of Elam. The first Susa with its palace was destroyed by Assurbani-pal (668-626 B.C.). To this Susa there is no reference in the O.T. It was refounded by Darius Hystaspis (521-485 B.C.), and according to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* viii. 6. 22) 'was the winter residence of the Persian kings, the rest of the year being spent by them at Babylon and Ecbatana' (see *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4499 sq.). It would appear, therefore, that, during the period to which our text would refer the reign of Belshazzar, there was no 'palace' or 'citadel' at Susa, and that the city itself was in an evil condition, if not entirely ruined.

Elam. Shushan is here said to be in Elam, but in Ezra iv. 9 it seems to be distinguished from it.

the river Ulai. The word for 'river,' *'ubal*, is found only here and in 3, 6. It is a phonetic variation of *yubal* in Jer. xvii. 8.

3 Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, there
stood before the river a ram which had two horns: and
the two horns were high; but one was higher than the
4 other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram
pushing westward, and northward, and southward; and
no beasts could stand before him, neither was there any
that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according
5 to his will, and magnified himself. And as I was con-
sidering, behold, an he-goat came from the west over

The Ulai is the Eulaeus on which, according to Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 135), Susa was situated, though Herodotus (i. 188, v. 49, 52) places it on the Choaspes. Three rivers flow from the north near Susa into the Persian Gulf: the Kerkha (= the ancient Choaspes); the Abdizful (= the Coprates) which falls into the Karun (= the Pasitigris); and the Eulaeus, 'a large artificial canal . . ., which left the Choaspes at Pai Pul, about 20 miles N.W. of Susa, passed close by the town of Susa on the N. or N.E., and afterwards joined the Coprates' (Driver).

3. The seer beholds, in the form of a single ram, the kingdoms of Media and Persia, the ram being a well-known symbol of might and dominion. But though these two nations can thus be represented by one animal, since they are regarded as akin to each other, their diversity is brought forward. The ram has two horns: the stronger which came up later represents Persia, while the earlier and weaker stands for Media. Cf. ii. 39 for a like distinction.

4. The eastern conquests of the Achaemenidae were of no interest to the Jew, and are therefore not mentioned.

according to his will: i. e. his caprice. Cf. xi. 3, 16, 36, Esther ix. 5.

magnified himself: there is a nuance of arrogance and insolence in the word: cf. Ps. lv. 12, Jer. xlviii. 26.

5–7. An he-goat (= the Greek Empire) attacks the ram and overcomes it. This goat had a notable horn between its eyes, i. e. Alexander the Great (verse 21).

5. an he-goat. The Hebrew here reads 'the he-goat,' but the two Greek versions rightly omit the definite article. If the article were right it would represent the 'he-goat' as well known, although appearing now for the first time in the vision. The word for he-goat is late Hebrew (cf. Ezra viii. 35, 2 Chron. xxix. 21), and probably borrowed from Aramaic. As a symbol of a chief or

the face of the whole earth, and [a]touched not the ground:
and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And 6
he came to the ram that had the two horns, which I saw
standing before the river, and ran upon him in the fury
of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, 7
and he was moved with choler against him, and smote
the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no
power in the ram to stand before him: but he cast him
down to the ground, and trampled upon him; and there
was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.
And the he-goat magnified himself exceedingly: and 8
when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and
instead of it there came up four notable *horns* toward

[a] Heb. *none touched the ground.*

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ruler the term 'he-goat' is to be found in Isa. xiv. 9, xxxiv. 6, but it is the classical Hebrew word that is used there.

touched not the ground: i. e. without touching the ground. To arrive at this rendering a slight change in the text (which is really translated in the margin) is needed.

a notable horn: lit. 'a horn of conspicuousness.' Cf. somewhat analogous expressions in 2 Sam. xxiii. 21, 'a goodly man' (lit. 'a man of appearance'), 1 Chron. xi. 23. This horn is described as a 'great' one in viii. 8, 21.

This 'notable horn' is Alexander the Great, who crossed the Hellespont in 334 B.C., overthrew Darius Codomannus at Issus in 333, traversed Palestine, reduced Egypt, and finally crushed Persia at Arbela in 331. After further victorious campaigns in the far East and in India, he died of fever in 323 B.C.

6–7. *The complete overthrow of Persia by Alexander.*

7. trampled: cf. vii. 7, 19, where however, a verb from a different Semitic root is used.

8. Death of Alexander and the division of his empire into four kingdoms. Cf. xi. 4.

four notable horns: lit. conspicuousness of four.' This is supposed to mean 'four conspicuous ones.' Though this expression differs from that in verse 5, the same meaning must perforce be attached to it. But the context hardly justifies such a meaning. According to verse 22, the four kingdoms were not 'notable.'

9 the four winds of heaven. And out of one of them came
forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward
the south, and toward the east, and toward the glorious
10 *land.* And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven;

Hence we should follow the LXX, and with Graetz and other scholars read אחרות instead of חזות, i. e. 'four other ones.' The corruption could arise from verse 5.

On the death of Alexander his empire became the cause of endless rivalries and wars amongst his generals, which raged for over twenty years before a final settlement was arrived at through the battle of Ipsus in 301. By this settlement Egypt was confirmed to Ptolemy in the south; Asia Minor to Paphlagonia and Pontus to Lysimachus in the north; Seleucus received Syria, Babylonia, and other eastern provinces, as far as the Indus in the east; and Cassander Macedonia, and Greece in the west. These four new kingdoms rose on the ruins of Alexander's empire, and are symbolized by the 'four horns.'

9–14. *The 'little horn,'* i. e. Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), 175–164 B.C. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 10, Joseph. *Ant.* x. xi. 7.

9. Our author passes over without mention all the Seleucidae from 301 to 175 B.C. His sole concern is with Antiochus Epiphanes, whom he regarded as the last and greatest enemy of the Jews and their faith.

a little horn. These words are not a rendering of the text, which, if it is Hebrew, is literally 'a horn from being little.' But the text is most probably corrupt and should be emended. By omitting one letter (with Graetz) we arrive at the usual Hebrew for 'a little horn,' or, by a change of two letters (with Bevan), we get 'another horn a little one.' The latter is most probably right, as it has the support of vii. 8. The two Greek versions presuppose quite a different adjective.

toward the south: i. e. Egypt: cf. xi. 25 sqq., 1 Macc. i. 16–19.

toward the east: i. e. Elymais to the east of Babylon, invaded by Antiochus in the last year of his life: cf. 1 Macc. iii. 31, 37, vi. 1–4.

toward the glorious land. Cf. xi. 16, 41. In Ezek. xx. 6, 15 Palestine is called 'the glory of all lands,' in Zech. vii. 14 'the pleasant land;' in 1 Enoch lxxxix. 40 'a pleasant and glorious land.' Cf. also Jer. iii. 19.

10. As Bevan remarks, in this verse 'the relation of Antiochus to the Jews is more clearly defined. Here, as in chapter xii, the *heavenly* character of Israel, as distinguished from the nations of the earth, is specially emphasized. The "host of heaven" repre-

and some of the host and of the stars it cast down to the ground, and trampled upon them. Yea, it magnified 11 itself, even to the prince of the host; and [a] it took away from him the continual *burnt offering*, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And [b] the host was given 12

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[a] Another reading is, *the continual* burnt offering *was taken away from him.* [b] Or, *an host was given* to it *against the &c.* Or, *an host was set over the &c.*

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sents the people of God.' Marti, on the other hand, thinks that the casting down of 'some of . . the stars' is a symbolical description of Antiochus' attempt to put down all the native religions in the countries under his rule and to substitute the religion of Hellas. But in 1 Enoch xlvi. 7 'the stars of heaven' denote the righteous Jews. Elsewhere 'the host of heaven' in the O.T. means the stars or the celestial beings in attendance on God. See Driver in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 429 sq.

Our text refers to the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus and possibly to the murder of the high priest Onias III, who is referred to more definitely in 1 Enoch xc. 8.

11–13. These verses form one of the most difficult passages in Daniel, owing to the corruptions in the text. It is possible by means of the Versions, especially the LXX and Theodotion, to recover the original for the most part. Without them in fact this is impossible. But the present work does not admit of the critical examination of these Versions, and accordingly we shall only make a partial use of them in dealing with the Massoretic text.

11. prince of the host: i. e. God.

took away from him. Cf. xi. 31. The *Qerî* (see margin R.V.) reads 'by it the continual burnt offering was taken away.' These words refer to Antiochus' suspension of the Temple services: cf. 1 Macc. i. 41–54, 59, iv. 52.

the continual burnt offering. Cf. xi. 31. The word 'burnt offering' is not expressed here. The full expression (*'ōlath tāmîd*) is found in Exod. xxix. 42, &c., but owing to familiar use it came to be spoken of simply as *hattāmîd*, 'the continual,' in later Judaism in the Mishna, as it is in Daniel, but not elsewhere in the O.T.

the place of his sanctuary was cast down. The Temple was not destroyed by Antiochus, but it was 'laid waste' (1 Macc. i. 39), and 'trodden under foot' (*op. cit.* vi. 45), and in part overthrown (*op. cit.* iv. 48).

12. Text corrupt.

an host (R. V. marg.) **was given over** to it, &c. This is

over *to it* together with the continual *burnt offering*
through transgression; and it cast down truth to the
13 ground, and it did *its pleasure* and prospered. Then
I heard a holy one speaking; and another holy one said
unto that certain one which spake, How long shall be
the vision *concerning* the continual *burnt offering*, and
the transgression that maketh desolate, to give both the
14 sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And

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said to mean: an army of Israelites were given over into the power of the horn, together with the continual burnt offering, owing to the apostasy of the Hellenizing Jews. Driver renders: 'a host was appointed against the continual burnt offering with transgression,' i. e. Antiochus had recourse to violent measures and established an armed garrison in Jerusalem in order to suppress the sacred rites of the Jews. Marti and von Gall omit the initial word 'host' (wrongly claiming the support of the Greek versions for so doing), and with a change of a letter arrive at the following rendering: 'and the transgression was laid on the continual burnt offering, and truth cast to the ground, and it did and prospered.' This sense is excellent and is supported by 1 Macc. i. 54, 59, according to which a small altar was reared on the altar of burnt offering in the Temple, and a sacrifice (probably of swine) offered thereon (1 Macc. i. 47).

cast down truth: i. e. the true religion.

did its pleasure **and prospered.** Cf. verse 24, 2 Chron. xxxi. 21. See note on xi. 32.

13–14. Dialogue between two angels overheard by Daniel, through which he receives information without asking any question as in Zech. i. 12.

13. The words following 'vision,' as Driver points out, must be taken in apposition as indicating the contents of the vision. Hence: 'How long shall be the vision? the continual burnt offering, and the transgression that maketh desolate, the giving both the sanctuary and the host,' &c.

There are many inherent difficulties in the text, but with the help of the Versions we arrive at the following text which meets all the difficulties: 'How long is the vision to be, while the daily burnt offering is taken away (מורם added with LXX and Theod.), the transgression that maketh desolate set up, and the sanctuary and the service trodden under foot?' See note on verse 12.

he said [a] unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings *and* mornings; then shall the sanctuary be [b] cleansed.

And it came to pass, when I, even I Daniel, had seen 15
the vision, that I sought [c] to understand it; and, behold,
there stood before me as the appearance of a man. And 16

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[a] According to the ancient versions, *unto him.*
[b] Heb. *justified.*
[c] Heb. *understanding.*

14. unto me. Read with the Versions: 'unto him.'

two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings. This peculiar method of reckoning 1,150 days is due to the fact that the seer regards the suppression of the evening and morning sacrifices as the chief outrage offered by Antiochus to religion. Accordingly he counts up the omitted sacrifices, i. e. 2,300 = 1,150 days.

This time determination is of importance in settling the date of our author's work. It is clear from the preceding two verses that he wrote *after* the erection of the heathen altar on the altar of burnt offering on the 15th of Chisleu, 168 B.C., and *before* the dedication of the new altar on the 25th of Chisleu (= Dec.), 165 B.C. (see 1 Macc. i. 54, iv. 52 sq.); for the period between these two amounts only to 3 years and 10 days. Now, if we reckon the year at 360, 364, or 365 days, three years and ten days will amount to 1,090, 1,102, or 1,105 days respectively, i. e. in all cases less than the predicted 1,150 days. Hence, we conclude that the book was written before the dedication of the new altar, since otherwise the period of 1,150 days would be unintelligible. This is the view also of Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Kamphausen. The 1,150 days is therefore a bona fide prediction.

With this period of the suspension of the daily sacrifice we are not to confound the three and a half years (vii. 25, xii. 7), during which the entire persecution was to last. Yet see ix. 27.

the sanctuary be cleansed. Better read 'justified,' as in R.V. marg. After the lapse of the above period the Jewish sanctuary will come into its rights, be vindicated.

15–18. *The appearance of Gabriel.*

15. as the appearance of a man. We have in 'as the appearance of' the apocalyptic form of expression already found in Ezek. i. 13, 14, 26, 27, 28, viii. 2, &c. He is called 'the man Gabriel' in ix. 21. The word used for man, *geber*, is evidently chosen as a play on the word 'Gabriel' = 'man of God.' It is worth observing here that though *geber* = ἀνήρ, the LXX here

I heard a man's voice between *the banks of* Ulai, which
called, and said, Gabriel, make this man to understand
17 the vision. So he came near where I stood; and when
he came, I was affrighted, and fell upon my face: but
he said unto me, Understand, O son of man; for the
18 vision belongeth to the time of the end. Now as he was

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renders the entire phrase ὡς ὅρασις ἀνθρώπου. This fact in itself (cf. the renderings in vii. 13 and viii. 16) should be sufficient to put scholars on their guard against laying too much weight on the variations in the renderings of 'Son of Man' in 1 Enoch.

16. a man's voice. Since the voice so described is heard in a vision it is not improbable that the words signify 'an angelic voice;' for in a vision an angel is described as a man: cf. x. 5.

between the banks of **Ulai.** Apparently we must supply the words 'the banks of.' Cf. 2. The voice was heard above the river: cf. xii. 6 sq.

Gabriel. Gabriel is the first angel to be mentioned expressly by name in the O.T. In ix. 21 he explains to Daniel Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years. In 1 Enoch ix. 1, xx. 7, passages which are most probably older than our text, he is one of the four and seven archangels respectively.

17. came near. The two Greek versions and the Vulg. read 'came and stood near.'

fell upon my face. On the appearance of angelic visitants the seer falls on his face through fear: cf. Ezek. i. 28, iii. 23, xliii. 3, Rev. i. 17.

son of man. A natural designation of a human being by an angelic one: cf. Ezek. ii. 1, 3, 6, &c. This designation has nothing in common with the Messianic one, 'Son of Man.'

for the vision belongeth to the time of the end. Cf. verse 19. Hab. ii. 3, 'For the vision is yet for the appointed time, and it hasteth toward the end.' Gabriel bids the seer to give heed to the vision, inasmuch as it dealt with no less a crisis than the final one of the world's history. For the writer this was the age of Antiochus. Time was then to give place to the kingdom of the Eternal. In our text we have the expression 'time of the end,' viii. 17, xi. 35, 40, xii. 4, 9 (cf. 2 Bar. xxix. 8, lix. 4), 'the end,' ix. 26, xii. 13 (vii. 26), 'the appointed time of the end,' viii. 19. The O.T. expression 'in the end of the days' is the oldest eschatological expression. See Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, p. 189.

18. On hearing the voice of the angel Daniel loses consciousness: cf. x. 9. Not till the angel touches him is his consciousness

speaking with me, I fell into a deep sleep with my face
toward the ground: but he touched me, and set me
[a] upright. And he said, Behold, I will make thee know 19
what shall be in the latter time of the indignation: for it
belongeth to the appointed time of the end. The ram 20
which thou sawest that had the two horns, they are the
kings of Media and Persia. And the rough he-goat is 21

[a] Or, *where I had stood*

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restored: cf. x. 10, 16, 18, 1 Enoch lx. 3, 4, 4 Ezra v. 14, 15, Rev. i. 17.

set me upright: lit. 'made me to stand in my standing place.' The words 'in my standing place' (cf. x. 11) represent a late Hebrew idiom found only in 2 Chronicles and Nehemiah outside Daniel. The classical Hebrew would be 'in my place' (1 Sam. xiv. 9), or 'on my feet' (Ezek. ii. 2).

19–26. *Gabriel's explanation of the vision.*

19. the latter time of the indignation, or better, 'the last time,' &c. The word 'indignation' is the technical term for the wrath of God, which Israel and Judah had incurred, according to the teaching of the pre-exilic prophets. This wrath has manifested itself in Israel's subjection to the nations. After the exile it was expected to come to an end in the immediate future, but this consummation was ever deferred till in the time of our author the faithful did not hope for its close till the final judgement, and the advent of the kingdom of the saints. According to our author the Divine wrath was to be fully satisfied during the persecution of Antiochus (xi. 36). On the accomplishment of the wrath of God cf. Isa. v. 25, x. 25.

20. the kings of Media and Persia: i. e. the kingdoms as in vii. 17.

21. the rough he-goat. In the original this is an extraordinary compound expression. First comes *haṣṣaphir*, a late Hebrew word—probably a loan-word from Aramaic (see verse 5, note), which means 'the he-goat.' Then we have *haśśa'ir*, which is classical Hebrew for 'the he-goat,' but is rendered by 'the rough' in the R.V., which is of course a possible rendering. Perhaps it would be best, as Driver suggests, to omit the latter word as an explanatory gloss. Otherwise we might regard *haśśa'ir* as a corruption of *ha'izzim*, the text implied by the two Greek versions, Pesh., and Vulg. In either case, therefore, we should simply read 'the he-goat.'

the king of [a] Greece: and the great horn that is between
22 his eyes is the first king. And as for that which was
broken, in the place whereof four stood up, four kingdoms
shall stand up out of the nation, but not with his power.
23 And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the
transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce
countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall
24 stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not [b] by

[a] Heb. *Javan.* [b] Or, *with his power.* See verse 22.

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king of Greece. Here *melech* (= 'king') stands for 'kingdom,' but for 'king' in the next sentence.

the first king: i. e. Alexander the Great.

22. stand up, or 'arise.' Here, as in late Hebrew (cf. viii. 23, xi. 2, 3, 4, xii. 1, 3, Ezra ii. 63, Neh. viii. 5), *'āmad* is used in the sense of 'arising,' 'coming on the scene,' like the early Hebrew *ḳūm.*

out of the nation. The text, which reads 'out of a nation' should with the two Greek versions be emended into 'out of his nation.'

not with his power. None of the four kingdoms (see note on verse 8) which were to arise on the division of Alexander's empire would be of like power.

23. their kingdom. The four kingdoms were to come to an end with the death of Antiochus.

when the transgressors are come to the full. The Versions presuppose a slightly different text: 'when the measure of transgressions is come to the full.' Some interpret these words as referring to Israel's transgressions, others as referring to those of the heathen.

of fierce countenance. This expression is borrowed from Deut. xxviii. 50.

understanding dark sentences (cf. v. 12). The sense, rather, is that he was skilled in ambiguous expression. The same idea is partly to be found in xi. 21, where he is said to have 'obtained the kingdom by flatteries.'

24. but not by his own power. This rendering implies that Antiochus would be strong by the permission of God. It would be better to render 'not by his power,' i. e. but by his intrigues. But Marti may be right in regarding this phrase as a repetition from verse 22. Theod. omits.

his own power; and he shall [a] destroy wonderfully, and
shall prosper and do *his pleasure*: and he shall [a] destroy
the mighty ones and [b] the holy people. And through 25
his policy he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand;
and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and in *their*
security shall he [a] destroy many: he shall also stand up
against the prince of princes; but he shall be broken
without hand. And the vision of the evenings and 26
mornings which hath been told is true: but shut thou

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[a] Or, *corrupt* [b] Heb. *people of the saints.*

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shall destroy wonderfully. Bevan, followed by Marti, regards the text here as corrupt, and emends *yašḥîth*, 'shall destroy,' into *yašîaḥ*, 'shall utter monstrous things.' They compare xi. 36 and vii. 8, 20.

24–25. **he shall destroy the mighty ones and the holy people. 25. And through his policy he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand.** By a comparison of the LXX, Graetz, Bevan, Marti, and others rightly emend the above into: 'He shall destroy the mighty ones (i. e. his political foes). 25. And against the holy people (i. e. his religious foes) shall his policy be directed, and he shall cause craft,' &c.

25. magnify himself in his heart. Cf. 4, 8, 11. The text could mean also 'devised great things.'

in their **security shall he destroy many.** Antiochus will take them while off their guard. But *bĕšalvah* can also be rendered 'unawares.' The text probably refers to the treacherous attack on Jerusalem recounted in 1 Macc. i. 29, 30, where the Greek word *ἐξάπινα* is used, which Greek word is twice in the LXX of Dan. xi. 21, 24 a rendering of *bĕšalvah.*

prince of princes: i. e. God. Cf. verse 11 The princes are the angelic chiefs. Cf. xii. 1, 'Michael the great prince,' also x. 20.

broken without hand: i. e. by Divine intervention. Cf. ii. 34. According to Polybius xxxi. 2, Antiochus died suddenly at Tabae in Persia in 164 B.C., a few months after the rededication of the Temple, 25 Chisleu, 165. See note on xi. 45.

26. vision of the evenings, &c. Cf. verse 14.

is true. Cf. x. 1, xi. 2, xii. 7, Rev. xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 6.

shut thou up the vision. This vision, which is placed by the seer in the third year of Belshazzar, relates really to the time of Antiochus. It is to be 'sealed,' i. e. kept secret. This com-

up the vision; for it belongeth to many days *to come.*
27 And I Daniel fainted, and was sick certain days; then I rose up, and did the king's business: and I was astonished at the vision, [a] but none understood it.

9 In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the

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[a] Or, *but there was none to make it understood*

mand is intended to explain how this revelation made to Daniel appeared first in the days of Antiochus. Cf. xii. 4, 9. Besides, the seer declares that only the wise of that period would be able to understand it. Cf. xii. 10. On the idea of reserving a revelation for a distant age cf. 1 Enoch i. 2, civ. 13, and contrast Rev. xxii. 10. In 4 Ezra xiv. 46 the secret books are committed to the keeping of 'the wise.' The idea of 'sealing' is found in Isa. viii. 16, but in a figurative sense.

belongeth to many days to come: i. e. refers to the distant age. The same Hebrew phrase already occurs in Ezek. xii. 27. Cf. viii. 17, 19, x. 14 of our text.

27. fainted. This word, which occurs here and in ii. 1 and Mic. ii. 4 (where it is corrupt), is unexampled in this sense elsewhere in O.T. It is omitted by the LXX, and is manifestly a dittograph of the following word.

none understood it. Since the vision was sealed up, i. e. withheld from Daniel's companions, it cannot refer to them. Since it was fully explained to Daniel according to 16, 19, it cannot be said of Daniel that he did not understand *the vision.* Various explanations are offered: Meinhold takes it to mean that no one perceived that Daniel had had a vision—a remark that would be superfluous after the command to seal up the vision. Marti, following Bevan, regards the phrase as defective for 'I did not understand,' and thinks that Daniel did not understand the command to seal up the vision, seeing it belonged to a distant age.

ix. In the closing verses of the preceding chapter Daniel is told that the vision he had just seen related not to his own time but to a distant future (viii. 26). This statement astonished Daniel (viii. 27), seeing that, like his contemporaries, he was looking forward to the speedy advent of the deliverance at the close of the 70 years definitely promised by Jeremiah (xxix. 10, xxv. 11). Accordingly, the seer is represented in the present chapter as engaged on this very question (ix. 1-2). If the promised deliverance belongs to the far distant future, how is Jeremiah's prophecy of the 70 years to be fulfilled? In his bewilderment he has recourse to prayer, and asks that the right interpretation of this prophecy may be revealed to him (ix. 3). And before he had

ed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm
f the Chaldeans; in the first year of his reign I Daniel 2
nderstood by the books the number of the years, whereof

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eased praying (ix. 21) the angel Gabriel came to him and showed im that the 70 years were not 70 literal years but 70 weeks of ears (ix. 22–24). In 24–27 a detailed interpretation of the 70 veeks of years is given. The 70 weeks are divided into three eriods: 7 + 62 + 1. The first period, i.e. 49 years, will extend rom the going forth of the word till the time of Joshua the high-riest, 586-538 B.C. During the second period of 62 weeks, i.e. 434 years, the city will be rebuilt. At the close of the last period will begin the 70th week of tribulation, when an anointed one will be cut off, religion forsaken, sacrifice and oblation cease to be offered, the abomination that maketh desolate set up, till at last the desolater is destroyed (verses 24–27).

Into this chapter has been incorporated the only large interpolation in the Book of Daniel, i.e. verses 4–19. For the grounds on which this conclusion is drawn see the notes *in loc.* This section deals with subjects with which neither the present context nor the rest of the book is concerned.

1. Darius. See note on v. 31.

son of Ahasuerus. Ahasuerus is a transliteration of the Hebrew אחשורוש—Achashwerosh (cf. Ezra iv. 6, Esther i. 1 sqq.), which in Greek took the form of Xerxes. Xerxes I, who reigned from 485 to 465 B.C. was the son of Darius Hystaspis (521–485 B.C.) and not the father.

2. Daniel is represented as reflecting on Jeremiah's prediction of the 70 years' exile. The author of our book was profoundly conscious that this prediction had not been fulfilled except in a very minor degree. Since, however, no such prophecy could fail, he necessarily concluded that it had been misinterpreted and therefore needed to be interpreted afresh. This new interpretation is given in the vision in 24–27. The probability that this reinterpretation was suggested by a comparison of Lev. xxvi. 18 sqq. (where it is said that the Israelites are to be punished *seven times* for their sins) and Jer. xxix. 10, xxv. 11 does not invalidate the reality of the vision nor the possibility that this reinterpretation was actually received in a vision. For the mind of the seer necessarily works with materials at hand, however it may draw on other sources.

understood by the books. Better render 'observed in the books.'

by the books. The books here are the sacred books, i.e. the Scriptures. The phrase implies the formation of a definite col-

the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem, even
3 seventy years. And I set my face unto the Lord God, [a] to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and

[a] Or, *to seek after prayer &c.*

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lection of O.T. books, but how extensive this collection was cannot be determined from the present statement. That the threefold division of the O.T., the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, already existed in some form we know from the Preface to Sirach.

the word of the Lord, i.e. 'the word of Yahweh.' Since verses 4-20 did not belong originally to the text, as we shall see presently, this would be the only verse in Daniel where the divine name Yahweh would be used. Von Gall excises it on this ground and compares 23, 25 for the use of 'word' or 'the word.' Marti would let it stand on the ground that the writer is using a citation from Jeremiah.

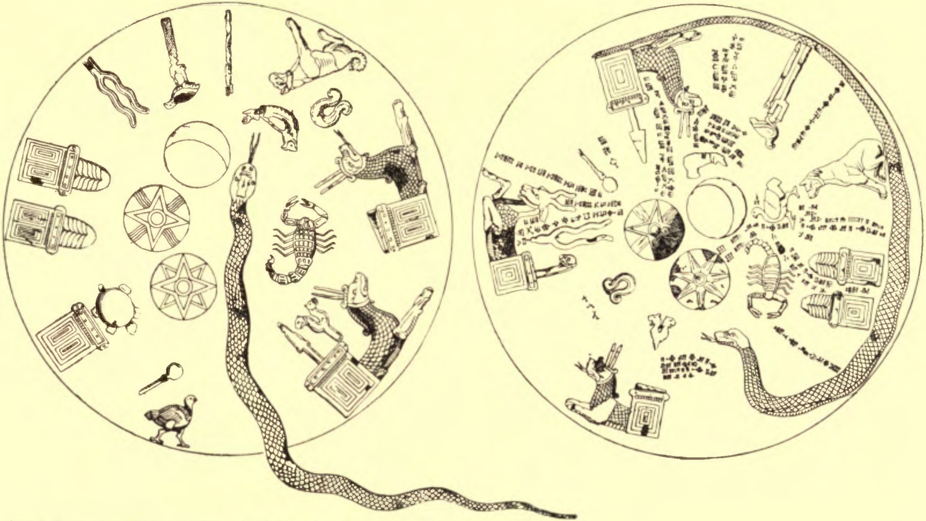
came to Jeremiah . . . seventy years. Cf. Jer. xxv. 11-12, xxix. 10.

3. set my face. For the same phrase see 2 Chron. xx. 3, xxxii. 2, and compare vi. 14 of our text.

Lord God. The word *Adonai* (= Lord) is found also in i. 2, and frequently in ix. 4-20.

to seek by prayer. The Hebrew is literally 'to seek prayer.' Cf. Zeph. ii. 3.

with fasting, i.e. as a preparation for the reception of a revelation; cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28, Deut. ix. 9, Esth. iv. 6. In these verses we have the only considerable interpolation in Daniel, as von Gall has recognized. Some of the grounds for excising these verses as an addition are: 1°. They betray the hand of an interpolator since they are unnecessary repetitions of verses 3 and 21. 2°. The conclusion of the chapter takes no account of the subject of the prayer, which supplicates for forgiveness and deliverance, but passes on at once to the explanation of the prophecy of Jeremiah. 3°. The prayer contains clear evidence of having been written in Palestine and not in the Exile. Thus in ver. 7 it speaks of those 'that are near and that are far off in all the countries whither thou hast driven them.' Those 'that are near' are obviously the Jews in Palestine as opposed to those 'that are far off in all the countries.' Again in ver. 16, 'Because for our sins and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are *round about us*,' the words in italics show that the prayer was written by a resident



From Jeremias' "Das Alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients"

BABYLONIAN ZODIAC PICTURES

(B.C. 1117)

sackcloth, and ashes. And I prayed unto the Lord my 4
God, and made confession, and said, O Lord, the great
and dreadful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy
with them that love him and keep his commandments;
we have sinned, and have dealt perversely, and have done 5
wickedly, and have rebelled, even turning aside from thy
precepts and from thy judgements: neither have we 6

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in Judaea. In 1 and 2 Baruch analogous phenomena are found. 4°. The name Yahweh is found in these verses but not elsewhere in Daniel, except in ver. 2, where it was inserted probably by the hand that added 4–19. 5°. The prayer asks for the immediate advent of the kingdom. But, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, Daniel knew that his deliverance could not come for 'many days to come,' viii. 26, i.e. a distant future. 6°. A critical comparison of 4–19 with Neh. i. 5 sqq., ix. 6 sqq., 1 Baruch i. 15 sqq., shows that repeatedly the verses in Daniel agree word for word with those in the passages just mentioned, that the writers of these passages have not borrowed from each other but from existing liturgical forms, which each writer adapted more or less fully to his own requirements.

On the above grounds, which could be added to, it is to be concluded that 4–19 is an addition to the text like the Prayer of Azariah and the Three Children, but an earlier one.

4. made confession. Cf. Neh. i. 6, ix. 2, 3, where this expression occurs in like contexts.

O Lord, the great and dreadful God . . . commandments. Occurs as a whole in Neh. i. 5 and in part in Neh. ix. 32. It was clearly a current liturgical form. The ultimate source is to be found in Deut. vii. 9. The particle rendered 'O' is a strong expression of entreaty, 'Ah, now.' It is found in Neh. i. 5 in the same connexion where the R.V. renders it 'I beseech thee.'

love him . . . his commandments. Read 'Love thee . . . thy commandments' with LXX, Theod., and Vulgate. Cf. the next verse.

5. have sinned . . . done wickedly. The ultimate source of these words is 1 Kings viii. 47. In due time they found their way into current liturgies. Thus they occur exactly as in our text in 1 Bar. ii. 12, and in a closely related form in Ps. cvi. 6.

even turning aside from thy precepts. This is a mistranslation for 'and turned aside from thy commandments.' Cf. Deut. xvii. 20, Ps. cxix. 102.

6. Two classes are here distinguished, the nobility embracing the kings, princes and fathers, and the people of the land. This

hearkened unto thy servants the prophets, which spake
in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers,
7 and to all the people of the land. O Lord, righteousness
belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of face, as at
this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of
Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are
far off, through all the countries whither thou hast
driven them, because of their trespass that they have
8 trespassed against thee. O Lord, to us belongeth con-
fusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our
9 fathers, because we have sinned against thee. To the

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latter phrase came in later Judaism to denote the uncultured laity. The term 'fathers' here does not mean **forefathers** but **leaders.**

hearkened unto thy servants the prophets. Cf. 1 Bar. i. 21. The words are a reminiscence of Jer. xxvi. 5; cf. vii. 25, xxv. 4, &c.

to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land. Cf. ver. 7. This clause is drawn from Jer. xliv. 21, where the order differs slightly. Cf. Neh. ix. 32, 34, 1 Bar. i. 16, ii. 1, for similar enumerations.

7. righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of face, as at this day. These words are exactly as they stand here in 1 Bar. i. 15, ii. 6. The second phrase is found in Ps. xliv. 15, Jer. vii. 19, 2 Chron. xxxii. 21.

to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. This combination is peculiar to Jeremiah (eight times) and 2 Kings xxiii. 2 (= 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30) in the O.T. outside the present passage. It appears in 1 Bar. i. 15.

that are near, and that are far off. From Jer. xxv. 26.

in (*better than* **'through'**) **all the countries whither thou hast driven them.** From Jer. xvi. 15, xxiii. 3, 8, &c. This clause is reproduced in 1 Bar. ii. 4, 13, 29.

their trespass that they have trespassed against thee. The word *ma'al* means treachery or disloyalty rather than 'trespass.' The clause is found in Lev. xxvi. 40, Ezek. xvii. 20, xviii. 24, &c.

8–9. These two verses are expansions of the introductory clauses in ver. 7.

8. to us . . . confusion of face. Cf. ver. 7 note.

to our kings, &c. Cf. ver. 6 note.

Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses; [a] for we
have rebelled against him; neither have we obeyed the 10
voice of the LORD our God, to walk in his laws, which
he set before us by his servants the prophets. Yea, all 11
Israel have transgressed thy law, even turning aside, that
they should not obey thy voice: therefore hath the curse
been poured out upon us, and the oath that is written in
the law of Moses the servant of God; for we have sinned
against him. And he hath confirmed his words, which he 12

[a] Or, *though*

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9. forgivenesses. Cf. Neh. ix. 17 'a God of forgiveness.'

10. The various elements of this verse can be traced to Exod., Deut., and Jeremiah. Thus the clause 'obeyed the voice of the Lord our God' is found in Deut. iv. 30, ix. 23, xxviii. 1, 2, 15, Exod. xv. 26, xix. 5, Jer. xliv. 23, &c. For 'to walk in his laws' cf. Exod. xvi. 4, Lev. xxvi. 3, Jer. xxvi. 4, and for 'which is set before us' cf. Deut. iv. 44, Jer. ix. 13, xxvi. 4, &c. But as has already been suggested the immediate source of the words is most probably current liturgical formulae. Cf. Neh. i. 7, ix. 14, and especially 1 Bar. i. 18, ii. 10. A comparison of these passages with Jer. xxvi. 4 leads one to suggest that the text is defective, and that we should read: 'neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God to walk in his laws that he set before us by ⟨his servant Moses, nor have we obeyed the words of⟩ his servants the prophets.' The loss of the restored clause could easily be explained by *homoioteleuton*. If we do not accept the above addition, then instead of 'to walk in his laws that he set before us by his servants the prophets,' we might simply read 'to walk in his law that he set before us by his servant Moses.' That Moses was mentioned in this verse is most probable from ver. 11.

11. even turning aside. A mistranslation for 'and have turned aside.' Cf. ver. 5.

the curse . . . and the oath. Cf. Num. v. 21, Neh. x. 29.

the curse . . . that is written in the law of Moses. Cf. Deut. xxix. 20, 'All the curse that is written in this book shall lie upon him.' Cf. 1 Bar. i. 20.

poured out. This expression is used of anger in Jer. xlii. 18, xliv. 6, 2 Chron. xii. 7, xxxiv. 25, &c.

12. Cf. 1 Bar. ii. 1, 2.

hath confirmed his words. The clause is found also in Neh. ix. 8 and 1 Bar. ii. 1, 24.

spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil: for under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon
13 Jerusalem. As it is written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us: yet have we not intreated the favour of the LORD our God, that we should turn from our
14 iniquities, and [a] have discernment in thy truth. Therefore hath the LORD watched over the evil, and brought it upon us: for the LORD our God is righteous in all his works
15 which he doeth, and we have not obeyed his voice. And now, O Lord our God, that hast brought thy people forth

[a] Or, *deal wisely*

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judges. A general term for rulers as in Ps. ii. 10, but in the parallel passage in 1 Bar. ii. 1 the term is used of the Judges in Israel that preceded the Kings.

for under the whole heaven hath not been done, &c. For an expanded form of this expression cf. 1 Bar. ii. 2. For like expressions cf. Exod. ix. 18, x. 6, xi. 6.

13. As it is written, &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 15, xxx. 1, 1 Bar. ii. 7.

have . . . not intreated the favour, &c. Cf. 1 Bar. ii. 8. The phrase is a familiar O.T. one. Cf. Jer. xxvi. 19, Exod. xxxii. 11.

14. Cf. 1 Bar. ii. 9–10.

watched over the evil. Cf. Jer. i. 12, where the same construction occurs, and cf. xliv. 27, 'I watch over them for evil.' Our text means that God is vigilant in bringing about his threatened evil.

God is righteous. Cf. Jer. xii. 1, Ezra ix. 15, and on these and the following words cf. Neh. ix. 33, 1 Bar. ii. 9–10.

15–19. *Prayer for deliverance.*

15. This verse is made up of clauses borrowed ultimately from Jer. xxxii. 20, 21. The first clause is from ver. 21, and the second from ver. 20. 1 Bar. ii. 11 reproduces more literally the same passage of Jeremiah, but observes the same order in the clauses as in our text, and similarly, but less literally, Neh. ix. 10. This fact can be best explained by assuming an intermediate common source for Nehemiah, Daniel, and 1 Baruch.

brought thy people forth . . . hand. Cf. Deut. vi. 21, ix. 26, Jer. xxxii. 21.

out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast gotten thee renown, as at this day; we have sinned, we have done wickedly. O Lord, according to all thy [a] right- 16
eousness, let thine anger and thy fury, I pray thee, be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are round about us. Now therefore, O our God, hearken unto 17
the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, for the

[a] Heb. *righteousnesses.*

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gotten thee renown. Cf. Isa. lxiii. 12, 14 and the passages referred to in Jer. and Neh. above.

16. thy righteousness (marg.), i.e. acts or deeds of righteousness as Judges v. 11, 1 Sam. xii. 7.

let thine anger . . . be turned away. Cf. Num. xxv. 4, 1 Bar. ii. 13.

thy holy mountain. Cf. Isa. ii. 2 sq., Ps. ii. 6, xv. 1.

iniquities of our fathers. Cf. Neh. ix. 2, 1 Bar. iii. 5, 7, 8. The phrase is found in the earlier books, Lev. xxvi. 39, Jer. xi. 10.

a reproach to all that are round about us. Cf. Ps. xliv. 13, lxxix. 4. These words are spoken from the standpoint of a Jew resident in Judea; see note above on 4–19. The taunts came from their heathen neighbours the Edomites, Ammonites, and others. It is worth remarking that in 1 Bar. ii. 4, iii. 8, this phrase is applied by the Jews in Palestine to the Jews in exile.

17. hearken unto the prayer. Cf. Neh. i. 6, 1 Kings viii. 28.

hearken unto the prayer . . . supplications. Cf. 1 Bar. ii. 14.

cause thy face to shine. Cf. Num. vi. 25, Ps. lxxx. 19. This petition is the counterpart of 'let thine anger . . . be turned away' in the preceding verse.

desolate. The word *shamem* is used of Mount Zion in Lam. v. 18, and recalls *shomem* in viii. 13. Cf. ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11.

for the Lord's sake. This abrupt transition to the third person in the midst of a series of petitions in the second is very harsh, and suggests a corruption in the text, and the evidence of the ancient versions turns this probability into a practical certainty. Accordingly we should either with the LXX ἕνεκεν τῶν

18 Lord's sake. O my God, incline thine ear, and hear;
open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city
which is called by thy name: for we do not [a] present our
supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but
19 for thy great mercies. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive;
O Lord, hearken and do; defer not; for thine own sake,
O my God, because thy city and thy people are called by
thy name.

20 And whiles I was speaking, and praying, and confessing
my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my

[a] Heb. *cause to fall*. See Jer. xxxvi. 7.

δούλων σου, δέσποτα read 'for thy servant's sake, O Lord' (comparing Isa. lxiii. 17—'return for thy servant's sake'), or with Theod. and the Vulgate 'for thine own sake, O Lord.' This latter, which recurs in ver. 19, has probably the support of 1 Bar. ii. 14.

18. O my God . . . behold. These clauses are borrowed literally from 2 Kings xix. 16 (= Isa. xxxvii. 17) save that instead of 'O my God' the source has 'O Lord' (i.e. יהוה). The same words from 2 Kings are repeated in 1 Bar. ii. 16, 17, but there the divine title *Yahweh* is preserved. But not improbably we should read 'O Lord' in our text also, since the LXX attests it.

desolations. Cf. Isa. lxi. 4.

the city which is called by thy name. The Hebrew is literally: 'over which thy name is called.' This phrase recurs in the next verse. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 10, 2 Sam. xii. 28, Isa. iv. 1, Amos ix. 12, Jer. vii. 10. There is a parallel to our text in 1 Bar. ii. 15, 26.

present our supplications before thee—lit. 'cause to fall . . . before thee.' This expression is found only in Jeremiah in the O.T. Cf. xxxviii. 26, xlii. 2, 9, xxxvi. 7. With 'do not present . . . our righteousness' compare the close parallel in 1 Bar. ii. 19.

19. hear . . . forgive. A reminiscence of 1 Kings viii. 30, 34, 36, &c.

20. This verse serves to connect 4–19 with the context. On ver. 3, ver. 21 followed immediately. In 20 we have a summary of the added prayer. It is composed of phrases which have already occurred in 4–19. Thus for 'praying and confessing' cf. ver. 4; for 'presenting my supplication' cf. ver. 18; 'for the holy mountain of my God' cf. ver. 16.

supplication before the LORD my God for the holy moun-
tain of my God; yea, whiles I was speaking in prayer, the 21
man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the begin-
ning, [a] being caused to fly swiftly, [b] touched me about the
time of the evening oblation. And he [c] instructed me, 22
and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come
forth to make thee skilful of understanding. At the begin- 23
ning of thy supplications the commandment went forth,

[a] Or, *being sore wearied* [b] Or, *came near unto me*
[c] Or, *made me to understand*

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21. Resumption of the original text.

Gabriel. See viii. 16.

being caused to fly swiftly. In the margin we have the alternative rendering 'being sore wearied' (lit. 'being wearied by weariness'). The divergence of rendering is due to the possibility of deriving the participle from different verbs—עוף 'to fly' or יעף 'to be weary.' But the cognate noun (יעף = 'weariness') which accompanies it is susceptible of only one sense. Hence the rendering in the text appears to be unjustified. The versions are in favour of the idea of flying. Thus the LXX has τάχει φερόμενος, Theod. πετόμενος, Vulg. *cito volans.* As against the idea of flight, it is to be observed that the O.T. nowhere else (except in xii. 6?) represents angels as having wings. The first undoubted passage in Jewish literature is 1 Enoch lxi. 1, and even there the angels are not naturally winged but only adopt wings for a special purpose. The idea of wings was in due course taken from the winged Seraphim and Cherubim and assigned to angels generally.

the time of the evening oblation. See note on vi. 10.

22. he instructed me. Better with the LXX and the Peshitto read 'he came.' So Bevan, Driver, and others.

Gabriel's sole communication refers to the seventy weeks, but in no single respect to the subjects of the prayer in 4–19.

23. At the beginning of thy supplications. In Isa. lxv. 24 the promise of an immediate answer to prayer is given.

the commandment went forth. The text here should be rendered 'a word went forth,' i. e. the divine declaration contained in 24–27. The same expression (*dabar*) recurs at the close of the verse where again the R.V. 'consider the matter' is to be corrected into 'consider the word.'

and I am come to tell thee; for thou art [a] greatly beloved: therefore consider the matter, and understand the vision.
24 Seventy weeks are decreed upon thy people and upon thy

[a] Or, *very precious* Heb. *precious things.*

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greatly beloved. As the margin shows, the Hebrew is literally 'precious things.' But, with Theod. and the Vulg., we should prefix *'ish* and read 'man of desirableness,' i. e. 'man greatly beloved' as in x. 11, 19.

consider the matter. Read 'consider the word.' See the last note but one. The two expressions 'word' and 'vision' mean practically the same thing, denoting its twofold relation in regard to God and in regard to man.

24-27. *The seventy weeks of years.*

24. This verse lays down the principle that the seventy years foretold by Jeremiah are to be understood as seventy weeks of years, i. e. 490 years, and that these years concerned God's holy city and people. This is clear from ver. 2 where Daniel is said to have observed in the Scriptures that the seventy years of Jeremiah had reference to the desolations of Jerusalem. But since the seer did not understand how this prophecy could be fulfilled in relation to the humiliation of Jerusalem, he sought illumination through a vision (ver. 3). In answer to his prayer Gabriel is sent, who explained the years as meaning weeks of years. The notion of a week of years was already familiar to the Jews, since the word could denote either the seventh day or the seventh year (Lev. xxv. 2, 4). But the word 'week,' which here means a week of years, has not this sense elsewhere in the O.T. It occurs, however, with this meaning some hundreds of times in Jubilees (before 100 B. C.) and in the Mishna (Sanh. v. 1) and the Talmud. But the way had been prepared for the statement in our text by 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, 'Until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years' (cf. Lev. xxvi. 34, 35). Here the idea of seventy years and of Sabbatical years are brought together.

As the present text stands this verse should be written in verse as follows:—

'Seventy weeks are decreed upon thy people and upon thy holy city,
To finish the transgression and to make an end of sins,
And to purge away iniquity and to bring in everlasting righteousness,
And to seal vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy place.'

But if the writer intended to write in verse, something seems wrong. The phrase 'the transgression' is not parallel with holy city, [a] to finish [b] transgression, and [c] to make an end of sins, and to [d] make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision

[a] Or, *to restrain* [b] Or, *the transgression*

[c] Another reading is, *to seal up.* [d] Or, *purge away*

'sins.' 'The transgression' is the heathen worship established in the Temple; cf. viii. 12, 13, 23. The proper parallel to 'to make an end of sins' occurs in the beginning of the next line—'to purge away iniquity.' Not impossibly, therefore, these two phrases belonged to line 3. In that case, we should transpose 'to bring in everlasting righteousness' to the preceding line. Now a study of the LXX suggests that instead of 'to bring in everlasting righteousness' we should read 'to set up (לתת) everlasting righteousness,' which in this case would mean 'to set up the righteous worship for ever,' which had been overthrown by Antiochus Epiphanes. Thus this phrase would be the counterpart of 'to set up the transgression' in viii. 13. xii. 11. Next, if we are right in taking 'to seal vision and prophet' as meaning 'to ratify and confirm the vision,' then this phrase should come at the close of the verse.

Thus lines two, three, and four would read:

'To finish the transgression and to set up everlasting righteousness,
And to make an end of sins and to purge away iniquity,
And to anoint a most holy place and to seal vision and prophet.'

Taken thus the action in the verse is clear and progressive. Towards the expiration of the seventy years the heathen worship in the Temple will be brought to an end, the true worship of God restored: then sin and iniquity will be purged away, the Temple rededicated and the vision of the prophet fulfilled.

This restoration is, of course, hypothetical, but it has much in its favour in that by a simple rearrangement of the clauses we arrive at a text which gives an admirable meaning in harmony with the rest of the book. In my larger Commentary this passage will be dealt with exhaustively.

to make an end of sins. So the Hebrew margin (*Q^erî*) and 54 MSS. The Hebrew text (*K^etib*) and Theod. have 'to seal up sins,' which is explained as 'restraining sins.'

to make reconciliation for. Since the context here refers to God, we should render *lĕkappēr* as in the margin, 'to purge away.' If the context referred to the priest, we should translate 'to make reconciliation for.' The meaning of the verb differs according to its subject.

everlasting righteousness. This expression, which does

25 and [a] prophecy, and to anoint [b] the most holy. Know therefore and discern, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto [c] the anointed one, the prince, shall be [d] seven weeks: and threescore and two weeks, it shall be built again,

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[a] Heb. *prophet.* [b] Or, *a most holy place* [c] Or, *Messiah, the prince* Or, *an anointed one, a prince* [d] Or, *seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: it shall be &c.*

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not occur elsewhere, is taken to mean the eternal righteousness of the Messianic Kingdom. But another meaning is possible. See note above.

to seal up vision and prophet. (So Hebrew and marg. R.V.). Rather: 'to seal vision and prophet,' i. e. to confirm the vision of the prophet. Cf. John iii. 33, vi. 27. The metaphor is taken from affixing a seal to a document to attest its genuineness (1 Kings xxi. 8). The LXX and the Syr. Hexaplaric Version read *συντελεσθῆναι τὰ ὁράματα*—a fact which shows that the LXX read not לחתם but להתם, i. e. 'to fulfil the vision.' This sense is decidedly better. The LXX omits 'and prophet.'

25-27. *The resolution of the* 70 *years into periods of* 7, 62, *and* 1.

25. the going forth of the commandment. Read 'word,' as in ver. 23. The text refers to the word of God spoken by Jeremiah (xxx. 18, xxxi. 38 sq.).

The date implied by these words should be 604 B. C. (i. e. from Jer. xxv. 11 sq. combined with xxv. 1), or 596 B. C. (from Jer. xxix. 10). But the writer does not think of these dates but makes the destruction of Jerusalem the point of departure, i. e. 586 B. C.

to restore and to build, i. e. to bring back exiles and build; cf. Jer. xxix. 10. Bevan proposes, by a change of punctuation in one letter, to read 'to repeople and build.'

unto the anointed one. Read 'unto an anointed one.' The prince here referred to is, as Eusebius, Grätz, Bevan, Marti, and others hold, the high-priest, Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, vi. 15,—'the anointed priest.' The word 'prince' is applied to the high-priest in ver. 26 and xi. 22. The first seven weeks, therefore, come to a close with the restoration of the Jewish worship (*circa* 538) under Jeshua the son of Jozadak (Ezra iii. 2), the first high-priest after the return from the Exile, Hag. i. 1, Zech. iii. 1. Others think that Cyrus is here meant, but this is less likely.

Thus the seven weeks extend from 586 to 538 B.C.

threescore and two weeks, i. e. during this period. On this period see note on verses 26-27.

with street and moat, even in troublous times. And 26
after the threescore and two weeks shall the anointed one

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street and moat. Rather emending חרוץ into חוץ with Bevan and the Peshiṭto we should render 'with square and street.' The first word (רחוב) should not be rendered 'street.' It means simply 'a broad place.' The two words are found in parallelism in Prov. i. 20, vii. 12, Isa. xv. 3.

even in troublous times. The text here is corrupt and these words do not belong to this verse but to the beginning of the next. The right text has been preserved in the LXX *καὶ κατὰ συντέλειαν καιρῶν* = ובקץ העתים (so also the Peshiṭto), the first word of which is corrupted in the Massoretic into בצוק. Hence we should here read 'and at the end of the times' and transfer this clause to the beginning of the next verse, as Bevan, followed by von Gall, Marti, and others, has pointed out.

26–27. *The Seventh Week*—171–164 B.C. Since the seventh week must embrace the years 171–164 a difficulty arises as to the *terminus a quo* of the 62 weeks. In the notes on the preceding verse we found that the first seven weeks came to a close in the year 538 B.C. But from 538 to 171 B.C. there is an interval not of 434 years (i. e. 62 weeks of years) but only of 367. In other words, there is an error of 67 years. Some scholars have thought to surmount this difficulty by making the first seven weeks of the 62 weeks to run parallel with the first seven weeks of the 70 weeks, i. e. 586–538 B.C. But this interpretation fails to explain the anomaly. Of the other explanations offered the best is that supported by Graf, Nöldeke, and Bevan, which is that the author of Daniel followed a wrong computation. The materials for an exact chronology from the destruction of Jerusalem, 586 B.C. to the establishment of the Seleucid period in 312 B.C., were not at the disposal of a Jew living in Palestine, nor apparently of any Jew. For Schürer (*Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*³, III. 189 sq.: Eng. Transl. II. iii. 54) has shown that dates covering this period which are given by professed historians of Judaism, such as Josephus and the Egyptian Jew Demetrius (*floruit ante* 200 B.C.), are untrustworthy in the way of excess, as in our text, and that the excess in Demetrius is almost exactly that in Daniel. Thus the latter reckons 573 years as having elapsed between the Captivity of the Ten Tribes (722 B.C.) and the accession of Ptolemy IV in 222 B.C. The true interval is here over-estimated by 73 years. From these facts Schürer reasonably concludes that Daniel is here following the chronology current in his time on these matters.

26. the threescore and two weeks. See the preceding note.

the anointed one be cut off. Read 'an anointed one, &c.'

be cut off, and [a] shall have nothing: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and [b] his end shall be with a flood, and even unto

[a] Or, *there shall be none belonging to him*
[b] Or, *the end thereof*

The anointed one is the high-priest Onias III, who was removed from the high-priesthood in 175 B.C. by Antiochus Epiphanes for a bribe of 440 talents of silver offered by Menelaus the brother of Onias, and was assassinated according to 2 Macc. iv. 35-37 at the instigation of the same brother in 171 B.C. This murder of the lawful high-priest evidently made a great impression at the time. It is referred to also in 1 Enoch xc. 8, where see my note.

and shall have nothing (i.e. ואין לו). This is the questionable rendering of an uncertain text. Neither the LXX nor Theod. supports it. The former implies ואיננו and should be rendered 'and he shall cease to be': the latter implies ואין דין לו = 'and that without judgement.'

and the people of the prince that shall . . . sanctuary. The text as it stands would refer to the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes, who made a sport of Jerusalem, setting it on fire and laying low its houses and walls (1 Macc. i. 31, 32, 38). The word *'am* (עַם) would in this case mean soldiers as in 2 Sam. x. 13, &c. But this text obliges us to take נגיד 'prince' in a different sense from what it has in ver. 25 where it refers to the Jewish high-priest. This difficulty, of course, is not a great one but it is of weight that one MS. and the five chief versions are against this text. Instead of עַם they presuppose עִם. Further, the verb יַשְׁחִית (= 'shall destroy') should, with Bevan, Marti, and others, be punctuated יִשָּׁחֵת = 'shall be destroyed.' Thus we have 'and the city and the sanctuary shall be destroyed together with a prince,' i.e. Onias III. With the supercession and death of Onias III began the ruin of the city and sanctuary through the Hellenizing parties in Jerusalem.

the prince that shall come . . . and his end shall be. The LXX presents a better form of text. Instead of הבא וקצו we should read ובא הקץ with the LXX καὶ ἥξει ἡ συντέλεια, 'and the end shall come.' 'The end' here is the last period of affliction; cf. viii. 17, 19.

the end shall come with a flood (emended translation). These words introduce the seventieth and last week, with which the first clause of the next verse also deals.

with a flood. Cf. Nah. i. 8, 'with an overrunning flood, &c.,' Jer. xlvii. 2. The word recurs in xi. 22. It is used here figura-

the end shall be war; desolations are determined. And 27
he shall make a firm covenant with many for one week:
and [a] for the half of the week he shall cause the sacrifice
and the [b] oblation to cease: and [c] upon the wing of

[a] Or, *in the midst of* [b] Or, *meal offering*

[c] Or, *upon the pinnacle of abominations* shall be *&c.*

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tively of the destroying flood of war. The war is that of Antiochus against the Saints.

desolations are determined. Rather 'that which is determined of desolations.' Marti conjectures that this clause is a dittograph of the closing words of the next verse. This is possible. It may be a gloss on the preceding clause.

27. he shall make a firm covenant with many. There are undoubted difficulties connected with this rendering which presupposes Antiochus Epiphanes to be the subject of the verb. If the interpretation of the preceding verses is correct, then Antiochus has not hitherto been referred to in 24–26. In the next place in the only other passage, Ps. xii. 5, where the verb (הגביר) occurs in the hiphil as here, it means 'to be strong' or 'show oneself strong.' And finally the word 'covenant' is not used elsewhere in this sense in Daniel, where it means practically 'religion' or 'the practice of religion.' Various emendations have been proposed. Bevan suggests והופר, and renders: 'and the covenant shall be annulled for the many,' i.e. there shall be a period of general apostasy. Marti develops a conjecture of Grätz and reads וְתַעֲבֹר 'and the covenant (i.e. the practice of religion) shall come to end for the many.'

and for the half of the week, &c. This clause and the rest of the verse deal with the second half of the last week, which embraces the period from the 15th of Chisleu 168 to the 25th of Chisleu 165 B.C. (see 1 Macc. i. 54 and iv. 52 sq.), during which period (see viii. 14) the Temple services were suspended. But this period does not coincide with the three and a half years, vii. 25, xii. 7, during which the entire persecution was to last. This period may have begun with the expedition of Apollonius against Jerusalem earlier in 168 (1 Macc. i. 29, 2 Macc. v. 24). On the two different periods given in xii. 11, 12, see notes *in loc.*

cause . . . to cease. With the LXX and Theod. we should read יִשְׁבֹּת instead of יַשְׁבִּית and translate 'the sacrifice and the oblation shall cease.' The sacrifice and oblation include all kinds of sacrifice bloody and unbloody. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 29, iii. 14, Ps. xl. 7.

upon the wing of abominations. This unintelligible phrase abominations *shall come* one that maketh desolate; and even unto the consummation, and that determined, shall *wrath* be poured out upon the [a] desolator.

[a] Or, *desolate*

(על כנף) has been emended by van Lennep, Bevan, Kuenen, Kamphausen, Driver, and others into על כנו = in its stead, i.e. instead of the daily sacrifice. The whole clause then would run: 'and in its stead shall be the abomination.'

of abominations shall come one that maketh desolate. A comparison of xi. 31, xii. 11 makes it clear that the reference in the text is to the heathen altar set up by Antiochus (cf. viii. 12, 13), and that for שקוצים משמם we should read שקוץ משמם as in xi. 31. We should thus render: 'And in its stead shall be the abomination that maketh desolate.' The LXX and Theod. presuppose 'and upon the holy thing (i.e. the Jewish altar) shall be (set up) the abomination, &c.'

and even unto the consummation, &c. Rather, 'and that until the consummation and that which is determined be poured upon the desolator.' The phrase 'the consummation and that which is determined, (which is really an hendiadys = 'the determined consummation') is taken from Isa. xxviii. 22.

I here append for the convenience of the reader the last three verses emended and translated as above suggested.

25. Know therefore and discern that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem,
Unto an anointed one, a prince, shall be seven weeks;
And for threescore and two weeks it shall be rebuilt with square and street.

26. And at the end of the times, after threescore and two weeks, shall an anointed one be cut off and that without judgement,
And the city and the sanctuary shall be destroyed together with a prince,
And the end shall come with a flood and even unto the end shall be war (that which is determined of desolations).

27. And the covenant shall come to an end for the many for one week,
And for the half of the week sacrifice and oblation shall cease,
And in its stead shall be the abomination that maketh desolate,
And that until the consummation that is doomed is poured out upon the desolator.

x—xii. These three chapters are to be taken closely together as forming one whole. They give a survey of oriental history from the beginning of the Persian period down to the time of the writer. The account grows steadily in definiteness and fullness

10 In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was called Belteshazzar; and the thing was true, even a great warfare: and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision. 2 In those days I Daniel was mourning three whole weeks.

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as it advances towards the close of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when suddenly it leaves the region of history and enters on that of prophecy. Chapter x forms an introduction or prologue to xi. 2^b–xii. After a brief allusion to Cyrus and his successors xi. 2^b, and to Alexander xi. 3, 4^a, and the division of his empire xi. 4^b, there comes an account of the Seleucidae and Ptolemies xi. 5–20, growing in fullness as it nears the time of the writer and finally entering into a detailed history of the wars of Antiochus Epiphanes with Egypt xi. 21–30, 40–45, and the sufferings of the Jews under his rule xi. 30^b–39. Here our author passes from the domain of history and predicts the death of Antiochus, xi. 45^b. Thereupon the worst of the final wars sets in for Israel, from which they are delivered by Michael: the resurrection follows and the age of blessedness for the faithful.

x. 1. In the third year of Cyrus. This is the latest date in the book. The LXX reads 'in the first year of Cyrus.' The latter may be a later correction owing to the introduction of i. 20–21 (see note *in loc.*).

king of Persia. This title was used of Cyrus only before his conquest of Babylon. After that event the title of Cyrus and the other reigning members of the Achaemenidae was 'king of Babylon,' 'the king,' 'the great king,' 'the king of kings,' &c. (Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the O.T.*, p. 546 *n.*). After the fall of the Persian empire the title king of Persia was used of its kings in order to distinguish them from their Greek successors.

a thing, or 'a word': cf. ix. 23.

unto Daniel. Daniel is here spoken of as the third person: cf. vii. 1.

Belteshazzar. See note on i. 7.

the thing . . . warfare. Rather 'the word is true and a hard service,' that is it involves great hardship. On this use of ṣab'a, cf. Isa. xl. 2, Job vii. 1, xiv. 14.

understood . . . understanding of. Better perhaps 'observed the word and gave heed to.'

2. The ground for Daniel's mourning and fasting are not mentioned as in ix. 3, but from ver. 12 it is clear that it was his concern for the future destinies of Israel. For the vision that follows the fasting as in ix. 3 is a preparation.

three whole weeks. The Hebrew is lit. 'three weeks,

3 I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in
my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three
4 whole weeks were fulfilled. And in the four and twentieth
day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great
5 river, which is [a] Hiddekel, I lifted up mine eyes, and
looked, and behold a man clothed in linen, whose loins

[a] That is, *Tigris*.

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days': cf. Gen. xli. 1, Deut. xxi. 13, 2 Sam. xiii. 23, xiv. 28, Jer. xxviii. 3.

3. pleasant bread. This is the opposite to 'bread of affliction,' Deut. xvi. 3. The clauses 'ate . . . in my mouth' appear in an expanded form in Test. Reuben, i. 10.

neither did I anoint myself. In fasting all luxury was avoided, and so anointing which was of this nature. The omission of anointing 'was a sign of mourning, the resumption of the practice a sign that mourning was over, 2 Sam. xii. 20, xiv. 2, Judith x. 3: cf. Is. lxi. 3, Eccl. ix. 8' (*Encyc. Bib.*, i. 173).

4. the first month, that is Nisan, or as it was earlier called, Abib. Daniel, therefore, with his companions (ver. 7) kept this fast in the month to which belonged the great festival of the Passover (i. e. on the 14th day) and of the Unleavened Bread (15th–21st)—'bread of affliction,' which the Law prescribed should be eaten, Deut. xvi. 3.

the great river [which is Hiddekel]. I have, with Behrmann and Marti, bracketed the explanatory clause as a mistaken gloss. 'The great river' is, according to Gen. xv. 18, the Euphrates, which is also called simply 'the river,' Gen. xxxi. 21: cf. Isa. vii. 20. There can be hardly any doubt that it is the Euphrates here also that is referred to. For Daniel and his companions were resident in Babylon, and Babylon was on the banks of the Euphrates, whereas the Hiddekel was at least fifty miles distant. The Hiddekel is only elsewhere mentioned once in the O.T., i. e. in Gen. ii. 14.

5–9. *The appearance of the heavenly messenger.*

5. The vision follows the fast, as in 2 Bar. v. 7 (see note in my edition), ix. 2, xii. 5, xxi. 1, xlvii. 2, 4 Ezra v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26 sq., xii. 51.

lifted up mine eyes. Cf. viii. 3.

and looked, and behold. On this and kindred forms of apocalyptic expression see the note on iv. 1 in my Commentary on Revelation.

a man clothed in linen. The phrase is probably from Ezek. ix. 2, 3, &c. That the linen garment represents the angelic

were girded with pure gold of Uphaz: his body also was 6
like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning,
and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like
in colour to burnished brass, and the voice of his words
like the voice of a multitude. And I Daniel alone saw 7
the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the
vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, and they fled
to hide themselves. So I was left alone, and saw this 8
great vision, and there remained no strength in me: for
my comeliness was turned in me into corruption, and

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body as composed of light (cf. Ps. civ. 2) is pointed out by Gressmann (*Ursprung der israel.-jüd. Eschatologie*, 344 sqq.).

pure gold of Uphaz. The text of the LXX, though corrupt, points to the original form of the text, i. e. 'fine gold of Ophir'; cf. Job xxviii. 16; Isa. xiii. 12; Ps. xlv. 9. So Ewald conjectured without the help of the LXX. The word Uphaz is found elsewhere only in Jer. x. 9, but there it is probably a corruption of Ophir: so Targ., Pesh., and some MSS. of LXX.

6. This verse was used by the writer of Rev. i. 14^b–15.

beryl. The Hebrew word is *tarshish* and is said to be the chrysolite (so the LXX) or the topaz. See Bible Dictionaries, *in loc.*

his face as the appearance of lightning. Cf. Rev. i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.'

his eyes as lamps of fire. Cf. Ezek. i. 13 (R.V. marg.), 'In the midst of the living creatures was an appearance . . . like the appearance of torches.'

his feet like in colour to burnished brass. From Ezek. i. 7, 'They (i. e. the feet of the Cherubim) sparkled like the colour of burnished brass.'

voice of a multitude. Cf. Isa. xiii. 4, xxxiii. 3.

7. Daniel alone saw the vision; cf. Acts ix. 7, xxii. 9.

fled to hide themselves. The Hebrew is peculiar here, בהחבא. We should expect לה״. Both the Greek versions presuppose בבהלה = 'in alarm' or 'in haste.'

8. With the effect of the appearance of the angel on the seer cf. viii. 17.

there remained no strength in me. Cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 20.

my comeliness was turned in me into corruption. Cf. v. 9, vii. 28. Instead of 'in me' (עלי) read 'upon me' or else omit the words. They represent a sort of dative of advantage or disadvantage; cf. ii. 1, v. 9, vii. 28. The word 'corruption,' as

9 I retained no strength. Yet heard I the voice of his
words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then
was I fallen into a deep sleep on my face, with my face
10 toward the ground. And, behold, a hand touched me,
which [a] set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my
11 hands. And he said unto me, O Daniel, thou man
greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto
thee, and stand upright; for unto thee am I now sent:
and when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood
12 trembling. Then he said unto me, Fear not, Daniel; for
from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to under-

[a] Or, *set me tottering upon &c.*

Driver points out, is from the same root as that rendered 'marred' in Isa. lii. 14 (also of the countenance).

and I retained no strength. This clause is, as Behrmann suggests, most probably a gloss borrowed from ver. 16. It is a weaker repetition of the earlier clause in this verse—'there remained no strength in me.'

9. then was I fallen into a deep sleep, &c. Cf. viii. 18. Daniel loses consciousness on hearing the voice.

on my face [with my face]. With the LXX and the Pesh. the words I have bracketed are to be excised. Cf. viii. 17, 18.

10. Some scholars identify the angel in verses 10 sqq. with the angel in verses 5–6: others regard them as distinct.

set me upon my knees. The Hebrew here is literally: 'caused me to totter on my knees.' This is a very *outré* expression and describes a no less *outré* result attending on the touch of the heavenly hand. It is not justified by Amos iv. 8. Since the Greek versions differ the text seems corrupt. The LXX and Theod. read ἤγειρε = 'awaked.' Now since Daniel is in a heavy sleep, this word is most appropriate. In the next verse Daniel is set upon his feet. If the Greek versions are right we should probably omit the words 'upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands.'

11. man greatly beloved. See ix. 23.

stand upright. Cf. viii. 18, Ezek. ii. 1, 4 Ezra v. 15.

trembling: the same word as in Ezra x. 9.

12. set thine heart. A late idiom occurring elsewhere only in Chronicles (twice) and Ecclesiastes (five times).

to understand, i.e. Israel's destiny.

stand, and to humble thyself before thy God, thy words
were heard: and I am come for thy words' sake. But the 13
prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and
twenty days; but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes,
came to help me: and I [a] remained there with the kings
of Persia. Now I am come to make thee understand what 14
shall befall thy people in the latter days: for the vision is yet
for *many* days. And when he had spoken unto me accord- 15

[a] Or, *was not needed*

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humble thyself. This expression relates to the various forms of self-denial accompanying a fast, as in Ezra viii. 21. The cognate noun means 'fasting' as in Ezra ix. 5 and the Mishna.

13. prince of the kingdom of Persia. The doctrine of angelic patrons of the nations appears first distinctly in our text; cf. verses 20, 21, xi. 1, xii. 1. How the idea arose does not concern us here, but it appears in Sirach xvii. 17, Deut. (LXX) xxxii. 8, and the number of these angels was said to be seventy according to the seventy nations mentioned in Gen. x. But whereas Sirach and Jubilees xv. 32 speak of God as the immediate ruler of Israel, contemporary and later authorities designate Michael as the patron of Israel. The destinies of these nations and their angelic patrons were closely interwoven, and no nation was punished before the fitting judgement was meted out to its angelic patron; cf. Isa. xxiv. 21. See my editions of 1 Enoch^2, pp. 200 sq., Jub. xv. 32 note.

Michael. This angel is the patron of Israel. So also in 1 Enoch xx. 5, Test. Levi v. 6, Test. Dan. vi. 2 though in the last two passages a still higher rôle is assigned to him. See also Rev. xii. 7, Jude 9.

I remained there with the kings of Persia. The text is corrupt here, and that presupposed by the LXX and Theod. should be adopted. Hence for נותרתי we should read הותרתיו and supply שׂר after אצל. Our text then would run: 'I left him alone there with the prince of the kings of Persia.' So Meinhold, Behrmann, and Marti. The guardian angel of Israel does not contend with the kings of Persia but with their guardian angel.

14. to make thee understand. Cf. viii. 16, ix. 23.

what shall befall thy people in the latter days. Based on Gen. xlix. 1.

the vision is yet for many days. Rather: 'there is yet a vision for the days,' i. e. there is yet another vision relating to

ing to these words, I set my face toward the ground, and
16 was dumb. And, behold, one like the similitude of the
sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth,
and spake and said unto him that stood before me, O my
lord, by reason of the vision my sorrows are turned upon
17 me, and I retain no strength. For how can the servant
of this my lord talk with this my lord? for as for me,
straightway there remained no strength in me, neither was
18 there breath left in me. Then there touched me again

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the last days. The LXX and Theod. imply a change of punctuation in one of the words: 'the vision is yet for days,' i. e. it relates to a distant period; cf. viii. 26.

15–xi. 2ᵃ. *Daniel's conversation with the angel.*

16. The dumbness which came upon Daniel in ver. 15 is here removed.

one like the similitude of the sons of men. Not therefore a man, but an angel.

touched my lips. By this act Daniel is enabled to speak with the angel; cf. Isa. vi. 7, Jer. i. 9.

my sorrows are turned upon me. On the phrase cf. 1 Sam. iv. 19. In Isa. xxi. 3 the same noun is used of the prostration of the seer caused by the vision.

retain no strength. Cf. ver. 8. We have here a late Hebrew idiom, not occurring elsewhere in the O.T. except in x. 8, xi. 6, and four times in Chronicles.

17. how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? Better take the first 'this' with 'servant' where it has a contemptuous force as in 1 Sam. x. 27, and the second 'this' with 'lord' with a honorific meaning as in Gen. v. 29 (Behrmann and Marti). The sense then is 'how can so mean a servant of my lord talk with so great a one as my lord?'

straightway there remained no strength in me. Since Daniel had already been deeply conscious of his weakness, the sense is not quite satisfactory. Moreover, the Hebrew phrase (מֵעַתָּה) translated 'straightway' means 'from now on' and can only properly be used of the present. Hence if we retain it we should translate: 'from now there remaineth (or 'will remain'), &c.' Since, however, the LXX here reads ἠσθένησα = מָעַדְתִּי, the text would mean: 'I shook: there remained.' Other emendations are proposed.

18. touched me again. Cf. 10, 16.

one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened
me. And he said, O man greatly beloved, fear not: 19
peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And
when he spake unto me, I was strengthened, and said,
Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.
Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I am come unto 20
thee? and now will I return to fight with the prince
of Persia: and when I go forth, lo, the prince of [a] Greece
shall come. But I will tell thee that which is inscribed 21

[a] Heb. *Javan.*

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one like the appearance of a man. Cf. ver. 16, viii. 15, Ezek. i. 13, 14, &c. This angel also touched the seer and strengthened him in 16ª, and here appears to be distinct from the great angel described in 5–6, who addressed Daniel in 11ª, 12–14, and whom Daniel addressed in 16ᵇ, 17, and who again addressed Daniel in verses 19–21.

19. he said. See the preceding note.

greatly beloved. Cf. ver. 11.

be strong, yea, be strong. Since the LXX, Theod., Pesh., and Vulg. presuppose two different words here the text may be incorrect. If so we might with five Hebrew MSS., the LXX, and Theod. read 'be strong and of a good courage'; cf. Deut. xxxi. 7, 23, Joshua i. 6, &c.

20. now will I return to fight with, &c., i.e. to resume the conflict with the prince of Persia (see ver. 13).

when I go forth, lo, the prince of Greece shall come, i.e. when I have done with the war against Persia, that with Greece will then begin. The Hebrew verb for 'go forth' here may be used in the sense of 'when I am free from' or 'done with' as in 1 Sam. xiv. 41, Eccles. vii. 18 (Marti). Or with the two verbs in our text we might compare 2 Kings xi. 5, 7 where they are used of departure from and entry on the duty of keeping watch.

21–xi. 2. There are here obvious dislocations of and additions to the text. First of all 21ᵇ should follow immediately on 20: 'When I go forth, lo, the prince of Greece shall come, and there is none that holdeth with me against these but Michael your prince.' Next as regards 21ª this clause 'but I will tell thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth' should stand at the beginning of xi. 2 instead of the clause which appears there 'and now will I shew thee the truth.' These last words are an addition to the text, a repetition of x. 21ª, which becomes necessary through the transposition of that clause.

in the writing of truth: and there is none that [a] holdeth
11 with me [b] against these, but Michael your prince. And as for me, in the first year of Darius the Mede, I stood up to confirm and strengthen him.

2 And now will I shew thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and when he is waxed

[a] Heb. *strengtheneth himself.* [b] Or, *concerning these things*

But the chief difficulty lies in xi. 1. The date in the words 'in the first year of Darius the Mede, I stood up to confirm and strengthen him' does not suit an account of the wars in heaven amongst the angelic princes, but as Robertson Smith, Behrmann, Marti, &c., have pointed out, has been wrongly introduced into the text here after the analogy of vii. 1, viii. 1, ix. 1, x. 1. The LXX and Theod. tried to escape the difficulty by correcting Darius into Cyrus. Next the LXX shows that the phrase 'and as for me' is not original and both the LXX and the Pesh. represent the speaker as receiving help and not as giving it—in other words, the latter half of xi. 1 read 'stood up to confirm and strengthen me.' I cannot enter more fully here into the criticism of this passage, but will now give the text as most probably it stood originally.

20^b-xi. 2. 'When I go forth, lo, the prince of Greece shall come, 21^b and there is none that holdeth with me against these, but Michael your prince, xi. 1^b who standeth up to confirm and strengthen me. 2. But I will tell thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth. Behold there shall stand up yet, &c.'

xi. 2^b-xii. 4. *The revelation given to the seer.* See p. 110 sq. for the summary. 2^b. *The four kings.* Our author seems to know only four Persian kings; see vii. 6. Who are these four kings? Since Cyrus is still reigning, he is necessarily included in the four. Cyrus, therefore, is the first of the four. It is no less clear that the fourth referred to in this verse is Xerxes who invaded Greece. But who are the second and third. The second appears to be Cambyses (529-522 B.C.) and the third Darius Hystaspis (522-485 B.C.). In this case the usurping Pseudo-Smerdis would be omitted. But Bevan and others think that the four kings mentioned in Ezra iv. 5-7 are here referred to, but in the order Cyrus, Darius Hystaspis, Artaxerxes, Xerxes, these being the only four names of Persian kings that occur in the O. T., which was most probably the principal source of information accessible to the writer. The reckoning of Xerxes as the successor of Artaxerxes would thus be one of the historical errors of the book.

strong through his riches, [a] he shall stir up all against
the realm of [b] Greece. And a mighty king shall stand up, 3
that shall rule with great dominion, and do according
to his will. And when he shall stand up, his 4
kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward
the four winds of heaven; but not to his posterity, nor
according to his dominion wherewith he ruled; for his
kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside
these. And the king of the south [c] shall be strong, and 5

[a] Or, *all this shall stir up the realm* [b] Heb. *Javan.*

[c] Or, *shall be strong; but* one *of his princes shall be &c.*

---

shall stir up all against, &c. The Hebrew is here most unusual, and is without the support of any of the versions. But though the original form of the text is uncertain the sense intended is clear. The text refers of course to Xerxes' expedition against Greece, which ended in his defeat at Salamis, 480 B. C.

the realm. We should perhaps with Theod. and the Pesh. read 'the kingdoms.' This would give a truer description of Greece. Though the LXX diverges from both readings it practically supports the latter.

3. *Alexander the Great* (336–323 B. C.).

do according to his will. Cf. 16, 36, viii. 4.

4. when he shall stand up. כעמדו is here certainly to be emended, with Graetz, according to the parallel passage in viii. 8, into כעצמו 'when he became strong.' The point of the writer is that the moment Alexander achieved his greatest success he was cut down.

shall be broken . . . toward the four winds of heaven. Cf. the similar language in viii. 8 about Alexander. On the four kingdoms that rose on the ruins of Alexander's empire see the note on viii. 8.

not to his posterity. Alexander, the posthumous son of Alexander by Roxana his wife, and Herakles, his illegitimate son by his mistress Barsine, were both murdered some thirteen years after the death of Alexander.

nor according to his dominion, &c. Cf. viii. 22.

even (better **'and'**) **for others beside these,** i. e. 'the dynasties which arose in Cappadocia, Armenia, and other countries during the century and a half that followed upon the death of Alexander' (Bevan). The 'these' above mentioned are Alexander's generals.

5–20. The Ptolemies and the Seleucidae before the time of

one of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion.
6 And at the end of years they shall join themselves together; and the daughter of the king of the south shall come to the king of the north to make [a] an agreement: but she shall

---

[a] Or, *equitable conditions*

Antiochus Epiphanes—the two dynasties which contended for the possession of Palestine, which was dominated mainly by the former during the third century B.C. In 198 B.C. it passed under the control of the Ptolemies at the battle of Paneion.

5. **king of the south**, i.e. the king of Egypt, Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, one of Alexander's ablest generals, who secured Egypt on the partition of Alexander's empire and ruled it as satrap from 322 to 306 B.C., when he assumed the royal title. He reigned as king from 306 to 285 B.C.

one **of his princes**, i.e. Seleucus Nicator I, who was originally satrap of Babylon, 321-316 B.C.; was deprived of his satrapy by Antigonus, but recovered it by the aid of Ptolemy in 312 B.C. The era of the Seleucidae, which was used subsequently by the Jews, was determined by this event. In 306 B.C. Seleucus assumed the title of king.

one **of his princes; and he shall be strong.** Better read with LXX and Theod. 'one of his princes shall be strong.'

shall be strong above him, i.e. Seleucus will be stronger than Ptolemy. After the decisive victory over Antigonus at Ipsus (301 B.C.) Seleucus received vast accessions of territory, and his empire became the most powerful of those which had been formed out of the dominions of Alexander.

6. *Ptolemy II, Philadelphus*, 285-247 B.C., *and Antiochus II, Theos*, 261-246 B.C. Antiochus I, Soter, the son and successor of Seleucus I, is here left out of account.

About the year 248 B.C. Ptolemy II gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus II on the condition that he should put away his wife Laodice and deprive his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, of the right of succession. On the death of Ptolemy two years later, Antiochus II divorced Berenice and took back Laodice. The latter, distrusting the constancy of Antiochus, poisoned him and procured the murder of Berenice, her child and attendants.

but she shall not retain the strength of her arm. This would mean that Berenice would not ultimately prevail against Laodice. Better with Graetz, Bevan and others render 'but this support shall not retain strength.' Cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 20.

not retain the strength of her arm; neither shall he stand,
nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that
brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened
her in those times. But out of a shoot from her roots shall 7
one stand up in his [a] place, which shall come [b] unto the
army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the
north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail: and 8
also their gods, with their [c] molten images, *and* with their
goodly vessels of silver and of gold, shall he carry captive

[a] Or, *office* [b] Or, *against* [c] Or, *princes*

---

neither shall he stand, nor his arm. Here Theod. and the Vulg. appear to be right. For וּזְרֹעוֹ we should read זַרְעוֹ 'his seed.' Thus we have 'neither shall his seed stand,' i. e. 'endure,' referring to the children of Antiochus by Berenice.

she (Berenice) **shall be given up.** This meaning of תִּנָּתֵן is unexampled. The true text of viii. 12 does not support it nor any other passage. We should probably read תִּנָּתֵשׁ 'she shall be rooted up.' This harmonizes well with the metaphor in the preceding clause. We should observe also that the same metaphor is used in ver. 7.

they that brought her, i.e. her suite.

he that begat her. The extraordinary הַיֹּלְדָהּ should with von Gall and Marti be emended into יַלְדָּהּ = 'her son.'

he that strengthened her. Better 'he that got possession of her,' i.e. her husband.

7–9. *Ptolemy III* (*Euergetes I*), 247–222 B.C., *and Seleucus II, Callinicus*, 246–226 B.C. Ptolemy III, with a view to avenging the murder of his sister Berenice, invaded the northern kingdom, seized Seleucia, the port of Antioch, and overran the greater part of Syria and Babylonia, and returned to Egypt with an immense booty. Two years later Seleucus Callinicus invaded Egypt but sustained an overwhelming defeat and returned with only a handful of his troops (240 B.C.).

7. one, i.e. Ptolemy III, brother of Berenice.

shall come unto the army, i.e. take the command of his forces against Syria. But this is unlikely. We should expect rather 'shall come with an army' as in ver. 13. Better, as in the margin, render: 'shall march against the (Syrian) army.'

8. According to Jerome Ptolemy brought back to Egypt the statues of the Egyptian gods carried off by Cambyses 280 years

into Egypt; and he shall [a] refrain some years from the king
9 of the north. And he shall come into the realm of the king
10 of the south, but he shall return into his own land. And
his sons shall war, and shall assemble a multitude of great
forces, [b] which shall come on, and overflow, and pass
through: and [c] they shall return and war, even to his
11 fortress. And the king of the south shall be moved with
choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with
the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multi-

[a] Or, *continue more years than &c.* [b] Or, *and he*
[c] Or, *he*

---

earlier. On this ground his subjects conferred on him the title Euergetes.

refrain . . . from, i.e. from attacking. Cf. Gen. xxix. 35, 2 Kings iv. 6. But some scholars support the rendering in the margin.

9. See note on 7–9.

10–12. The next ten verses deal mainly with the times of Antiochus III the Great. When Seleucus Callinicus died, his elder son, Seleucus Ceraunos, became king, but after a reign of three years (226–223 B.C.) was murdered during a campaign in Asia Minor. He was succeeded by Antiochus III the Great, 223–187 B.C. Antiochus, soon after his accession, attacked Palestine, then subject to Egypt, and in the course of two campaigns conquered the greater part of it. But in 217 B.C. Ptolemy met Antiochus at Raphia and defeated him with great loss. Palestine was then reannexed to the empire of the Ptolemies.

10. his sons shall war, i.e. Seleucus Ceraunos and Antiochus III.

shall come on. Thirteen MSS. and the LXX give the reading 'shall attack him,' i.e. the king of Egypt.

overflow, and pass through. From Isa. viii. 8.

shall return. Either into winter quarters in Ptolemais, or, after wintering in Ptolemais, to the campaign against Ptolemy in 217 B.C.

his fortress. Probably Gaza, the strongest fortress of Palestine on the south. Driver calls attention to the play on Gaza (עזה) in the word for fortress (מעזה).

11. he shall set forth a great multitude, &c. These words are taken in two ways. 'He (Antiochus) shall raise a great multitude and it shall be given into his (Ptolemy's) hands.' This

tude, and the multitude shall be given into his hand. And 12
the multitude shall [a] be lifted up, and his heart shall be
exalted: and he shall cast down tens of thousands, but
he shall not prevail. And the king of the north shall 13
return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the
former; and he shall come on at the end of the times,
even [b] *of* years, with a great army and with much substance.
And in those times there shall many stand up against the 14
king of the south: also the children of the violent among

[a] Or, *be carried away* [b] Or, for

---

is the preferable rendering. The other is: 'he (Ptolemy) shall raise a great multitude and the multitude shall be put under his command.'

12. And the multitude shall be carried away (marg.), that is, the army of Antiochus. Another possible rendering is that in the text: 'And the multitude shall be lifted up' or 'lift itself up' to attack. In this latter case the army would be that of Ptolemy. But the former rendering is to be followed.

his heart, i.e. Ptolemy's. This circumstantial clause can also be referred to Ptolemy's army: 'its courage being raised.'

shall cast down, &c., i.e. at Raphia.

shall not prevail. Ptolemy, after his victory at Raphia, recovered Coele Syria, but failed to follow up his success. Owing to his effeminate and dissolute character, favourable terms were granted to Antiochus.

13–16. In 205 B.C., twelve years after the battle of Raphia, referred to in the preceding verses, Ptolemy Philopator died, leaving only one son, aged five years, who succeeded his father as Ptolemy Epiphanes, 205–181 B.C. Antiochus seized on this opportunity of attacking Egypt and formed a league with Philip of Macedon for this purpose. After varying fortunes Scopas, the general of Ptolemy, recovered possession of Judaea in 200 B.C., but two years later was utterly crushed at Paneas (Caesarea Philippi), and forced to take refuge in Sidon, where he was besieged and taken captive.

13. shall return, and shall set forth. Better: 'shall again raise.'

shall come on. As in ver. 10 we should, perhaps, with the LXX read 'shall attack him.'

14. shall many stand, &c., i.e. Antiochus, Philip of Macedon, and the many insurgents throughout the provinces of Egypt.

the children of the violent among thy people, &c. Schlatter

thy people shall lift themselves up to establish the vision;
15 but they shall fall. So the king of the north shall come,
and cast up a mount, and take [a] a well fenced city: and
the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his
chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to
16 withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do
according to his own will, and none shall stand before
him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, and in his
17 hand shall be destruction. And he shall set his face to

---

[a] Or, *the fenced cities*

(*ZATW.*, 1894, 145–151) is most probably right, as Marti points out, in identifying the 'violent among the people' with the Tobiadae and their followers. Ptolemy alienated the affections of the Jews by supporting Joseph, the head of this family, by a garrison in Jerusalem. This family got hold of the high-priesthood and robbed the nation by their endless taxation and exactions. Without intending it they contributed by their conduct 'to establish the vision,' i. e. to bring about the end foretold, and to compass their own destruction.

15ᵃ. shall . . . cast up a mount (i.e. a mound) **and take a well fenced city.** This is Sidon, where Scopas with 100,000 men had taken refuge, and which Antiochus captured.

a well fenced city. Theod., the Pesh., and Vulg. read 'well fenced cities.'

15ᵇ–16. *Complete overthrow of the Egyptian suzerainty over Syria.*

15ᵇ. neither his chosen people . . . to withstand. Better 'neither shall his chosen people have any strength to withstand.' This involves the omission of a vav, but the same sense is attainable without any change.

16. But he (Antiochus) **that cometh against him** (Ptolemy).

stand in the glorious land, i.e. in Palestine. See note on viii. 9.

and in his hand shall be destruction directed either against the Jews or the Egyptian garrisons in Palestine. If for וְכָלָה we read וְכֻלָּה the text runs 'with all of it in his hand.'

17. he shall set his face, i. e. design, make it his aim; cf. Gen. xxxi. 21, 2 Kings xii. 17.

to come with the strength, &c. This means that Antiochus will march his entire forces against Ptolemy.

come with the strength of his whole kingdom, [a] and [b] up-
right ones with him; and he shall do *his pleasure*: and he
shall give him the daughter of women, [c] to corrupt her;
but [d] she shall not stand, neither be for him. After this 18
shall he turn his face unto the [e] isles, and shall take

---

[a] According to the ancient versions, *and shall make equitable conditions with him: and he shall give &c.* [b] Or, *equitable conditions* [c] Or, *to destroy it* [d] Or, *it* [e] Or, *coastlands*

---

and shall make equitable conditions (or better 'an agreement'; cf. ver. 6) **with him** (marg.). So, in accordance with the LXX, Theod., and the Vulg., we should emend וישרים עמו ועשה (= 'and upright ones with him, and he shall do') unto ומישרים עמו יעשה.

shall give him the daughter of women. When Antiochus was obliged to abandon his designs on Egypt owing to the intervention of Rome, he made an alliance with Ptolemy and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, with the provinces of Coele Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine as a dowry. This marriage was carried out in 194–193 B.C.

to destroy it (marg.), i.e. Egypt. The real motive of Antiochus in giving his daughter to Ptolemy was to gain a footing in Egypt which he could turn to his own purposes when occasion arose. The rendering in the text 'to corrupt her,' i.e. to bring about her ruin, gives no tolerable sense; for Cleopatra adopted the cause of her husband, advised him to maintain his alliance with Rome and lived happily in Egypt.

but it (marg.) **shall not stand, neither be for him.** This is the later Hebrew form of the clauses in Isa. vii. 7, xiv. 24, where קום is used. עמד is used in this sense here and in Esther iii. 4, Eccles. ii. 9. The plan of Antiochus will not succeed.

18. The historical facts behind this verse are shortly as follows. In 197 B.C. Antiochus made an expedition into Asia Minor. This expedition was attended with great success and most of the cities made their submission to him. In the same year he made himself master of the Thracian Chersonese, and in 192 effected a landing in Greece. But here his successes came to an end. In 191 his forces were routed by the Romans at Thermopylae, and in the following year he sustained such an overwhelming defeat at Magnesia that he had to submit to the most humiliating conditions dictated by the conqueror.

turn his face, i.e. towards the West, to the islands and coastlands of the Mediterranean.

many: but a [a] prince shall cause the reproach offered by
him to cease; yea, moreover, he shall cause his reproach
19 to turn upon him. Then he shall turn his face toward
the fortresses of his own land: but he shall stumble and
20 fall, and shall not be found. Then shall stand up in his
[b] place one that shall cause an exactor to pass through the
glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be
21 [c] destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle. And in his

[a] Or, *captain* [b] Or, *office* [c] Heb. *broken.*

---

a prince. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the Roman general at the battle of Magnesia.

the reproach offered by him, i.e. the defiant attitude taken by Antiochus towards the Romans. Antiochus offered hospitality to Hannibal and told the Romans that they had no more business with his doings in the East than he had with theirs in the West.

yea, moreover. This rendering cannot be defended. The text is corrupt, and needs to be emended.

cause his reproach, &c., i. e. at Magnesia.

19. In order to raise the vast fine imposed on him Antiochus retired to the fortresses of the East. After plundering the temple of Bel in Elymais he and his followers were set upon by the inhabitants of the place and slain 187 B.C.

20. *Seleucus IV, Philopator,* 187–175 B.C. This king impressed himself on the memories of the Jews by his attempt to rob the Temple through the agency of Heliodorus. The full account is given in 2 Macc. iii. 1–40.

glory of the kingdom. Cf. ver. 16. Babylon is designated 'the glory of kingdoms' in Isa. xiii. 19.

shall be destroyed. Seleucus is the first of the three horns mentioned in vii. 8 of our text. Appian speaks of his death as due to a conspiracy headed by Heliodorus.

21–45. *Antiochus IV, Epiphanes,* 175–164 B.C. This Antiochus was the son of Antiochus the Great and the brother of the late king. For fourteen years he had been a hostage at Rome in accordance with the treaty concluded by the Romans with his father. At the request of Seleucus IV the Romans released Antiochus and took in his stead Demetrius the son of Seleucus. While Antiochus was on his way home, Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus. By the help of Eumenes, king of Pergamum, and Attalus, Antiochus seized the throne, which legitimately belonged to his nephew Demetrius.

[a] place shall stand up a contemptible person, to whom
they had not given the honour of the kingdom: but
he shall come in time of security, and shall obtain the
kingdom by flatteries. And with the arms of a flood 22
shall they be swept away from before him, and shall be
broken; yea, also the prince of [b] the covenant. And after 23
the league made with him he shall work deceitfully: for
he shall come up, and shall become strong, with a small

[a] Or, *office* [b] Or, his *covenant*

---

21. a contemptible person. Cf. vii. 8 where he is called 'the little horn.' The term here may be applied to him in derision of the title he assumed, Epiphanes (i. e. *Θεὸς ἐπιφανής*) 'God manifest.'

to whom they had not given, &c. He was not the legitimate heir. See note above.

in time of security. Cf. 24, viii. 25.

by flatteries. After his accession, as we learn from a recently discovered inscription, Antiochus made himself so popular that the people of Antioch recorded a vote of thanks to Eumenes and Attalus for their share in procuring his accession to the throne.

22–24. *Events in Syria during the years* 175–170 B.C.

22. with the arms of a flood, &c. Rather 'the arms of the flood.' But as Bevan remarks this 'would be a singularly inappropriate designation for the armies defeated by Antiochus.' Hence for הַשֶּׁטֶף he reads הִשָּׁטֹף, and thus instead of 'with the arms of a flood . . . before him' we have 'forces (i. e. of Heliodorus and other domestic enemies of Antiochus) shall be utterly overwhelmed before him.'

the prince of the covenant, i. e. the Jewish high-priest Onias III, who was removed from his office by Antiochus in 175 B.C. and was murdered at Antioch in 171. See note on ix. 26.

23. Antiochus outwitted all his friends and confederates.

shall come up. This is taken to mean 'shall rise to power,' but there is no parallel for such a use. In fact the present text is unsatisfactory. The LXX presupposes quite a different text and Theod. renders the next verb (עצם) by *ὑπερισχύσει αὐτούς.* If the latter is right we should add עליהם after עצם, which word could go then excellently with both verbs: 'shall be superior to and stronger than they.'

with a small people. Apparently the partisans of Antiochus.

24 people. In time of security shall he come even upon
the fattest places of the province; and he shall do that
which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers;
he shall scatter among them prey, and spoil, and substance:
yea, he shall devise his devices against the strong
25 holds, even for a time. And he shall stir up his power

---

24. In time of security shall he come even. The *vav* translated 'even' here should, perhaps, with Theod. be transposed to the beginning of the verse: 'and in time of security he shall come.'

come even upon the fattest places of the province, lit. 'of a province.' What the reference is is not clear. It is generally explained of Galilee or Lower Egypt, but, as Bevan objects, to describe either 'as "the fattest parts of a province" would be a strange figure of speech.' He proposes, therefore, to render: 'assail the mightiest men of (each) province.' Cf. Isa. x. 16, Ps. lxxviii. 31 for this use of מִשְׁמַנֵּי. The general sense agrees with viii. 25 'in (their) security he shall destroy many' and viii. 24 'he shall destroy the mighty ones.' By his intrigues Antiochus would remove his chief opponents in each province.

he shall do that which his fathers have not done . . . fathers' fathers. If these words stand alone they may refer to Antiochus' attempts to Hellenize his subjects and put down all religions but his own. But if they refer to what follows they may be explained of Antiochus' prodigal generosity. Cf. 1 Macc. iii. 30, 'the gifts which he used to give aforetime with a liberal hand, and he abounded above all the kings which were before him.' This characteristic is marked by Livy xli. 20 'regius erat animus in urbium donis et deorum cultu.' Then follows a list of his acts of munificence.

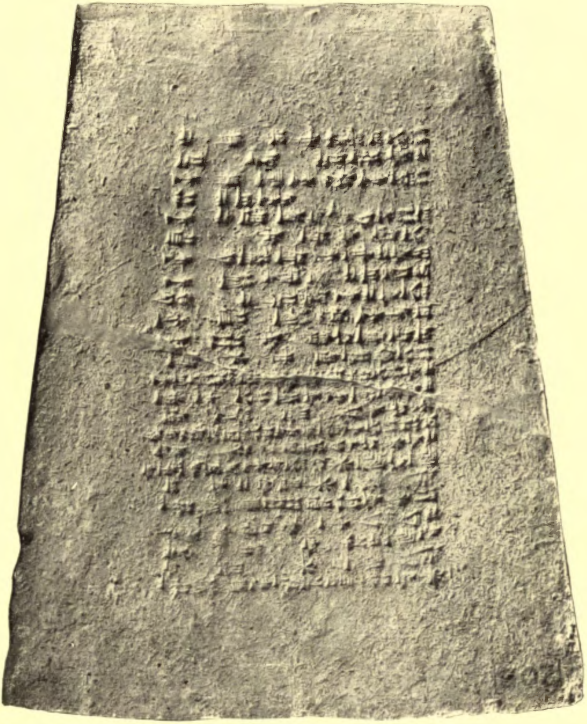
among them, i.e. his adherents. For this vague use of the plural compare ver. 7.

prey, and spoil, and substance. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 19 'he took the spoils of Egypt.'

devise his devices against the strong holds, i.e. of Egypt, such as Pelusium—'the Gate of Egypt,' Livy xlv. 11. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 19, 'got possession of his strong cities in the land of Egypt.' But Antiochus' projects were not limited to the conquest of individual cities. He wished to be king of Egypt (1 Macc. i. 16).

for a time. Cf. verses 27, 35.

25–28. 170 B.C. *Antiochus' first Egyptian campaign* in which he defeated Ptolemy Philometor near Mount Casius, captured



British Museum, 174 [90272]

INSCRIBED BRICK OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR II. (B.C. 604-561)

and his courage against the king of the south with a great
army ; and the king of the south shall war in battle with
an exceeding great and mighty army : but he shall not
stand, for they shall devise devices against him. Yea, 26
they that eat of his [a] meat shall [b] destroy him, and his
army shall overflow : and many shall fall down slain.

---

[a] Or, *dainties* [b] Heb. *break.*

Pelusium, the key of Egypt, and with Ptolemy in his suite proceeded to Memphis. Pretending to act in the interests of the latter, Antiochus made himself master of Egypt. In the meantime the Alexandrians had made Ptolemy's brother king under the title Ptolemy Physcon. Antiochus next besieged Alexandria, but after many ineffectual efforts to capture it withdrew to Syria on the approach of three Roman envoys who had been appointed by the Senate to put an end to the war. On his return Antiochus plundered the Temple in Jerusalem: 1 Macc. i. 20–24, 2 Macc. v. 11–21.

We have thus adopted the view of Wellhausen (*Israel. und Jüd. Gesch.*^{3}, 1897, p. 246 *n.*) who maintains that Antiochus made only two Egyptian campaigns, the third, that of xi. 40, 41, being an unfulfilled prophecy. So also Mahaffy (*Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 494 sq.) who contends that what are commonly regarded as two distinct campaigns of 170 and 169 B. C. are in reality two stages in one and the same campaign. Driver favours this view but points out that since the persecuting edict belongs to the year 168 B. C., Antiochus' attack on Jerusalem must have taken place in 170 B. C. owing to 1 Macc. i. 20, 29, 54.

25. king of the south, i. e. Ptolemy VI, Philometor.

with a great army. On Antiochus' army cf. 1 Macc. i. 17.

he shall not stand, for they shall devise, &c. Ptolemy Philometor could not maintain the contest owing to the treachery of his followers. Antiochus defeated him near Pelusium and got possession of the border fortress of Pelusium by dishonourable means (Polyb. xxviii. 7, 16).

26. they that eat, &c. Possibly Eulaeus and Lenaeus whose ill-omened advice led to Ptolemy's attempt to reconquer Syria. Ptolemy fell under their influence after the death of his mother Cleopatra in 174 B.C.

shall overflow. For יִשְׁטוֹף we should (cf. ver. 22) read יִשָּׁטֵף = 'shall be swept away,' i. e. Ptolemy's army. The text would have to refer to that of Antiochus.

many shall fall down slain. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 18, 'and many

27 And as for both these kings, their hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table: but it shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be at the time
28 appointed. Then shall he return into his land with great substance; and his heart *shall be* against the holy covenant; and he shall do *his pleasure*, and return to his own
29 land. At the time appointed he shall return, and come into the south; but it shall not be in the latter time as it
30 was in the former. For ships of Kittim shall come against

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fell down wounded to death,' which words are used of the same events.

27. their hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table. When Antiochus conquered Ptolemy Philometor the Alexandrians raised his brother, under the title Ptolemy Physcon, to the throne. Antiochus thereupon took Philometor under his protection, Antiochus on the one side professing that he did so solely in the interest of Philometor, and Philometor, on the other hand, professing that he believed in his uncle's disinterestedness.

it shall not prosper, i. e. the subjugation of Egypt, which shall not take place until 'the time appointed.' See ver. 43. But 'the end' in the text may refer not to this matter but to Antiochus' death.

28. Antiochus' attack on Jerusalem at the close of his first Egyptian campaign.

with great substance, i. e. 'the spoils of Egypt' (1 Macc. i. 19).

the holy covenant, i. e. the Jewish religion; cf. ix. 27, note.

29-39. *Antiochus' second Egyptian Campaign* 168 B. C. *and his persecution of the Jews.* This campaign was directed against the two brothers—Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Physcon—who were now reconciled.

29. At the time appointed, i. e. in the counsels of God. Cf. ver. 27.

it shall not be in the latter time, &c. That is, this campaign shall have a very different issue from the former. On the Hebrew idiom cf. Josh. xiv. 11, 1 Sam. xxx. 24.

30. ships of Kittim. Cf. Num. xxiv. 24. Originally the word Kittim denoted a town in Cyprus, then generally the inhabitants of Cyprus (Gen. x. 4, Isa. xxiii. 1, 12). Later it was used of the isles and coasts of the Mediterranean. Thus in the Book of

him; therefore he shall be grieved, and shall return, and
have indignation against the holy covenant, and shall do
his pleasure: he shall even return, and have regard unto
them that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall 31
stand on his part, and they shall profane the sanctuary,
even the fortress, and shall take away the continual *burnt
offering*, and they shall set up the abomination that

Jubilees and in 1 Macc. it means the Macedonians, while in our text it clearly designates the Romans. The allusion here is to C. Popilius Laenas and his fellow envoys, who summarily required Antiochus to leave Egypt.

therefore he shall be grieved. Better 'and he shall be cowed'—cf. Ps. cix. 16, Ezek. xiii. 22, or perhaps with Behrmann 'and they shall threaten him' (lit. 'he shall be threatened'). This latter sense is found in Syriac, and the LXX and Vulg. support this rendering.

he shall even return. Translate 'and he shall return,' i. e. to Antioch.

regard unto them that forsake the holy covenant. On his return to Antioch, Antiochus kept up communication with the apostate Jews. These, under the leadership of Jason, the renegade high-priest, strove to hellenize the nation. See 1 Macc. i. 11–15, 2 Macc. iv. 7–17, Assumption of Moses viii. 1–5.

31. arms shall stand on his part. Rather 'armies—i. e. troops, cf. 15, 22—(sent) from him shall stand up.' On the forces brought by the chief collector of Antiochus named, according to 2 Macc. v. 24, Apollonius, see 1 Macc. i. 29.

they shall profane the sanctuary, even the fortress. The Temple at this period had fortifications—hence called the stronghold—as we may infer from their being afterwards rebuilt, according to 1 Macc. iv. 60, vi. 7.

shall take away the continual burnt offering. A similar statement is found in viii. 11.

they shall set up the abomination that maketh desolate, i. e. the heathen altar that was built on the altar of burnt offering. This was done according to 1 Macc. i. 54, on the 15th day of Chisleu (December), and on the 25th day of the same month according to i. 59, they offered heathen sacrifices on this altar which had been built on the altar of God. With regard to the peculiar expression 'abomination that maketh desolate' (שִׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם ix. 27, xi. 31, שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם viii. 13, xii. 11 (פֶּשַׁע)), Nestle, *ZATW.*, 1884, p. 248, suggests that this Hebrew phrase was a Jewish carica-

32 maketh desolate. And such as do wickedly against
the covenant shall he [a] pervert by flatteries: but the
people that know their God shall be strong, and do
33 *exploits*. And [b] they that be wise among the people
shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword and

[a] Heb. *make profane*. [b] Or, *the teachers of the people*

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ture of בעל שמים 'Lord of heaven', a title occurring in Phoenician and with the necessary change of the final consonant, in Aramaic inscriptions. This phrase, which appears in 1 Macc. i. 54 as *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, was first applied to the heathen altar and then probably to the image of Olympian Zeus beside it. For according to Taanith iv. 6 (העמיד צלם בהיכל) a statue of Zeus was set up. For משמם we should read השמם.

32. such as do wickedly against the covenant. For this use of the verb cf. ix. 5, xii. 10. These are in this view the apostates mentioned in ver. 30. But there is much to be said for Bevan's view that the words should be translated 'those who bring guilt upon the covenanted people,' as opposed to the phrase in xii. 3 'they that turn many to righteousness.' This translation is supported by the rendering adopted in R.V. of the verb in this sentence. See next note.

shall he pervert. The Revisers here follow practically the sense that this Semitic root has in Syriac, i.e. *Gentile*, *Pagan*, *Apostate*. If this is right, it substantiates the meaning given to the preceding clause by Bevan. For the writer would not speak of apostatizing the apostates.

by flatteries. Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 18.

the people that know their God shall be strong, i.e. steadfast. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 62. 'Many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves . . . that they might not profane the holy covenant: and they died.'

and do exploits, better render simply 'do,' in the sense of acting with effect. This absolute use of the Hebrew verb has occurred already viii. 12, 24, ix. 19, xi. 28, 30. This meaning is found occasionally in the O.T., 2 Chron. xxxi. 21, Jer. xiv. 7, Ezek. xx. 9.

33. they that be wise. These are not the teachers, but the pious. They are strongly opposed to the Hellenizing party, and themselves constitute the Hasidaeans referred to in 1 Macc. ii. 42, vii. 13, 2 Macc. xiv. 6. Around them gathered the entire religious force of the nation. On this party see 1 Enoch xc. 6–9.

shall instruct many, i.e. by their example and loyalty.

yet they shall fall by the sword, &c. These persecutions

by flame, by captivity and by spoil, *many* days. Now 34
when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little
help: but many shall join themselves unto them with
flatteries. And some of [c] them that be wise shall fall, to 35
refine them, and to purify, and to make them white, even

[c] Or, *the teachers*

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referred to later in Heb. xi. 36-38 are described more fully in 1 Macc. i. 57, 60, 61, 63, ii. 31-38, iii. 41, v. 13, 2 Macc. vi. 10, 11, 18-31, vii.

34. a little help. The help here referred to is that of the Maccabees. The rising of Mattathias and his sons assisted by the faithful in ever growing numbers, and their early victories, are described in 1 Macc. ii. 42-48, iii. 11, 12, 23-26, iv. 12-15, but to our author the greatest victories won by the arm of man are only 'a little help.' He looks for deliverance not from this source, but from the Lord.

many shall join themselves unto them with flatteries. These words are taken to indicate that many joined the national cause from sheer terror, because of the ruthless severities practised by Judas and his party. See 1 Macc. ii. 44, iii. 5, 8, vi. 19, 21, 24, vii. 6, 7, 24-32. But the context, as the following verses show, is against the idea, that the Maccabees have as yet attained much power. In ver. 35 it speaks only of martyrdoms on the part of the faithful, and in ver. 36 only of Antiochus' success during the time allotted to him. It would not, therefore, be natural to pay court to a cause still struggling for a very doubtful victory. Accordingly I offer the following suggestion, based on the corrupt but illuminating text of the LXX. The details cannot be given here, but the restored text would run 'and there shall join them many in the city and many in their several homesteads, i. e. the country.'

35. some of them that be wise shall fall, i.e. some of the leaders of the faithful shall suffer martyrdom or fall in the struggle. This phrase rendered 'the wise' (cf. xi. 33, xii. 3, 10) could just as well be rendered 'the teachers,' i.e. those that make wise, as in ix. 22, and possibly in xii. 3. Where the text reads 'shall fall' the LXX reads 'shall be wise'—a reading which presupposes *yaskīlu* (ישכלו) instead of *yikkash*^{e}*lū* (יכשלו).

to refine them, rather, it is to be rendered 'to refine amongst them,' i.e. amongst the people at large, so Bevan and Driver. But turning aside from the text we observe that the Versions presuppose not active but middle or passive verbs, and in support

to the time of the end: because it is yet for the time
36 appointed. And the king shall do according to his will;
and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above
every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the
God of gods: and he shall prosper till the indignation be
accomplished; for that which is determined shall be done.
37 Neither shall he regard the gods of his fathers, nor the

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of the text presupposed by them, it is noteworthy that the same three verbs recur in xii. 10 in the passive. Into the details of this critical question I cannot enter here, but it is possible that the LXX is right. 'Some of the wise shall be wise with a view to their being refined and purified and made white.' Cf. xii. 10.

for the time appointed. Cf. ver. 27.

36-39. These verses furnish a characterization of Antiochus, his presumptuousness and impiety, and show how he set at naught the various national religions, in order to establish the cult of his own god.

36. according to his will. This phrase has been used in viii. 4 of the Persian Empire, in xi. 3 of Alexander, and in xi. 16 again of Antiochus.

magnify himself. On this phrase cf. ver. 37 and Isa. x. 15.

above every god. On the later coins of Antioch there was the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ = 'of King Antiochus, God manifest,' and still later to the above he added ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ = 'bearer of victory,' a distinctive epithet of the Olympian Zeus. See Driver *in loc.* Such an assumption of the divine names and dignity naturally caused him to be regarded by the Jews as a monster of impiety.

speak marvellous things against the God of gods, i. e. unspeakable impieties (cf. vii. 8, 25) against the God of Israel, cf. ii. 47.

till the indignation be accomplished. Cf. viii. 19; and Isa. x. 25 from which latter passage the words are borrowed.

that which is determined shall be done, i. e. the divine will must be carried out. The phrase as in ix. 27 is drawn from Isa. x. 23.

37. Neither shall he regard the gods of his fathers. The efforts of Antiochus to bring about uniformity in religion and custom throughout his empire (cf. 1 Macc. i. 41), and his supreme devotion to the Olympian Zeus led him to discredit the local deities, even those whom his fathers had worshipped. Amongst these was the Greek Apollo, whose form, represented on the coins of his fathers, and on his own coins at the beginning of his

desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify
himself above all. But in his [a] place shall he honour the 38
god of fortresses: and a god whom his fathers knew not
shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious
stones, and pleasant things. And he shall deal with the 39
strongest fortresses by the help of a strange god; [b] whosoever

[a] Or, *office* [b] Or, *whom he shall acknowledge* and *increase with glory* or, *shall increase glory*

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reign was subsequently wholly displaced by that of the Olympian Zeus.

nor the desire of women. Probably the Phoenician deity Tammuz, the equivalent of the Greek Adonis whose cult had been popular in Syria for centuries, especially among women (Ezek. viii. 14). Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 446 ff.

> Thammuz came next behind
> Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
> The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
> In amorous ditties all a summer's day;
> While smooth Adonis from his native rock
> Ran purple to the sea—supposed with blood
> Of Thammuz, yearly wounded: the love tale
> Infected Sion's daughters with like heat.

nor regard any god. According to Polybius Antiochus had plundered most temples within his reach, xxxi. 4, and his death was due, as we know, to an unsuccessful attempt to rifle a temple in Persia. See 1 Macc. vi. 1, 4.

38. the god of fortresses. This is apparently Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom Antiochus had erected a magnificent temple in Antioch, and to whose temple he had sent golden sacred vessels of great worth. Livy, Book xli. 20; also xlii. 6. His fathers had recognized Zeus Olympius, it is true.

39. he shall deal with the strongest fortresses by the help of a strange god. This apparently means that he will conquer them by his help, but this sense is unsatisfactory, and the Hebrew questionable. Hence Hitzig, Bevan and others change עִם into עַם and render 'he shall procure for the strong fortress the people of a strange god.' The reference would here be to the heathen colonists and soldiers settled by Antiochus in the fortified cities of Judea and in Jerusalem, 1 Macc. i. 33, iii. 36, 45. With the phrase 'people of a strange god' cf. Num. xxi. 29, and for this

ever acknowledgeth *him* he will increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide
40 the land for a price. And at the time of the end shall the

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use of the Hebrew verb and preposition cf. 2 Sam. xv. 1, 1 Kings i. 5.

whosoever acknowledgeth him **he will increase with glory,** i. e. whosoever approveth of Antiochus' policy. The text might also be rendered as in the margin, or again as follows 'he whom he recognizes he shall increase with glory.'

cause them to rule over many, &c. Rather 'the many.' The appointment of apostates to supreme offices was one of Antiochus' methods of government, cf. 1 Macc. ix. 25. 'And Bacchides chose out the ungodly men and made them lords of the country.' The chief offices were sold for a price, cf. 2 Macc. iv. 8-10, 24.

40-45. *Transition from history to prophecy.* Three different interpretations have been given to these verses. 1°. They have been regarded as a recapitulation, and as giving a brief sketch of the course of events, from about 171 B.C. to the death of Antiochus. But the introductory words, 'At the time of the end,' excludes the assumption that we have here a recapitulation. The present belongs to the time of the writer. The persecutions described in ver. 35 are to last 'to the time of the end.' That time has now come. 2°. They have been taken as relating to historical events, after those already mentioned, i. e. after the year 168 B.C. But our historical authorities know nothing of an expedition against Egypt after this date. The chief events of his reign in 167 B.C. are his institution at Daphne of the great series of games, and his reception of the envoy of the Roman Senate, whose suspicions he succeeded in placating. In the following year, 166 B.C., he started on an expedition in the course of which he perished. It is true that Porphyry, according to Jerome, does speak of another expedition to Egypt, but the incidents recorded by Porphyry, apart from one or two details, could all have been drawn from the text of Daniel, and the mention of Antiochus pitching his tent at Apedno, is due evidently to a misunderstanding of a Hebrew word in Daniel xi. 45. 3°. Hence the third hypothesis alone is tenable that this passage is not a description of the past, but a forecast of the future. As Driver writes, 'the author draws here an imaginative picture of the end of the tyrant king, similar to the ideal one of the ruin of Sennacherib in Isa. x. 28-32: he depicts him as successful where he had previously failed, viz. in Egypt; while reaping the spoils of his victories, he is called away by rumours from a distance; and then, just after he has set out on a further career of conquest and

king of the south [a] contend with him : and the king of the
north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots,
and with horsemen, and with many ships ; and he shall
enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass
through. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and 41
many *countries* shall be overthrown : but these shall be
delivered out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the
chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth 42
his hand also upon the countries : and the land of Egypt
shall not escape. But he shall have power over the 43
treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious

[a] Heb. *push at.*

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plunder, as he is approaching with sinister purpose the Holy City, he meets his doom.'

40. at the time of the end. The period spoken of in ver. 35 has now come to a close.

the king of the south, i. e. Ptolemy Philometor.

contend with. Literally 'butt at.' The same verb as in viii. 4.

come . . . like a whirlwind, i. e. Antiochus will come against Ptolemy like a whirlwind. For this use of the verb cf. Hab. iii. 14.

overflow and pass through. This phrase has already occurred in ver. 10.

41. the glorious land. See ver. 16.

many countries shall be overthrown. *Rabboth*, i. e. many (fem.), we should clearly read *ribboth* = myriads, cf. xi. 12, with de Wette, Bevan, Behrmann, and others. Hence we render 'myriads shall be overthrown.'

but these shall be delivered—Edom, Moab, Ammon, the nations hostile to the Jews even at this period. Cf. 1 Macc. iv. 61, v. 3–8.

the chief of the children. Instead of ראשית we should with the Pesh. and Gesenius-Bühl read שארית = the remnant. Thus we should have 'the remnant of the children of Ammon.'

42, 43. *Conquest of Egypt.*

42. stretch forth his hand, i. e. seize. Cf. Esther viii. 7.

shall not escape. For this phrase cf. Gen. xxxii. 8.

43. This verse is at variance with what we know independently, regarding Antiochus' financial position at this time. He was in the greatest pecuniary straits.

things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians
44 shall be at his steps. But tidings out of the east and out
of the north shall trouble him: and he shall go forth with
great fury to destroy and [a] utterly to make away many.
45 And he shall plant the tents of his palace [b] between the
sea and the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to
12 his end, and none shall help him. And at that time shall

[a] Heb. *to devote many.* [b] Or, *between the seas at*

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the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps, i. e. follow him. These nations lived to the west and south of Egypt respectively. Hence Egypt is represented as beset on all sides.

44. tidings out of the east. The same Hebrew word is used for tidings which made Sennacherib retire (Isa. xxxvii. 7).

he shall go forth, i. e. from Egypt.

to destroy and utterly to make away. Literally 'to destroy and to ban.' The LXX here is corrupt. But the corruption points to the original order as being 'to ban and to destroy,' and in this order these two verbs are found in 2 Chron. xx. 23.

45. shall plant. The verb נטע is used here only in the O.T. in this sense instead of נטה. It is very late Hebrew.

the tents of his palace. The word for palace (*appéden*) which is found here only in the O.T. but occurs frequently in Syriac, is derived from the Persian *apadâna*. This word was misunderstood by Porphyry as being the name of a place.

between the sea and the holy mountain. Our text implies that Antiochus died in Palestine between the Mediterranean and Mount Zion, whereas he actually died at Tabae in Persia, 164 B.C. It was a reasonable expectation on the part of the Jews, that their greatest persecutor should fall amid the scenes of his greatest crimes. According to viii. 25 he was to perish 'broken without hand.' Moreover, the old eschatological expectations of the prophets fixed on the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (Ezek. xxxviii–xxxix, Joel iii. 2, Zech. xiv. 2 sqq., 1 Enoch xc. 13–19) as the scene of the conflict between the saints and the hostile heathen powers or of the judgement of the latter by God.

xii. 1–3. These three verses form the close of the revelation of the angel, and belong to what precedes. In fact xi. 40–45 and xii. 1–3 form a unity, being a description of the last times of all, i.e. the destruction of the great heathen power, xi. 40–45, followed by tumults and trouble throughout the world, out of which, however, the faithful shall be saved. Then follows the resurrection of the

Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people : and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time : and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And 2

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pre-eminently righteous, and of the apostates in Israel, and the age of everlasting blessedness.

1. **At that time,** i.e. the period of the overthrow of Antiochus.

Michael . . . the great prince. See x. 13, 21.

which standeth for the children of thy people, i.e. 'protects.' Cf. Esther viii. 11.

a time of trouble, such as never was, &c. This phrase is the standard description of the last times. Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 27, Ass. Moses viii. 1, Mark xiii. 19, Matt. xxiv. 21, Rev. xvi. 18. So far as the phrase itself goes, it occurs in a non-technical sense in Exod. ix. 18, 24. The phrase 'time of trouble' has already occurred in Jer. xxx. 7. It refers here, of course, to the gathering of all the Gentile powers against Jerusalem. Amongst these were probably the Libyans and Ethiopians, mentioned in xi. 43.

thy people, i.e. the true Israel.

written in the book, i.e. of life. The book of life as a register of the actual citizens of the theocratic community on earth. This expression was originally confined to temporal blessings and to the living only in connexion with these. But in the present passage the idea has been transformed through the influence of the new conception of the kingdom and distinctly refers to an immortality of blessedness. This book has thus become a register of the citizens of the coming kingdom of God whether living or departed. For a full account of this and parallel phrases see my edition of 1 Enoch xlvii. 3.

2. In Ps. xlix and lxxiii there are probably the first intimations of the individual immortality of righteous souls. In the very late section, Isa. xxvi. 1–19, there is probably the first account of the resurrection of the righteous. The righteous, of course, are Israelites and they are raised to share in the blessedness of the Messianic kingdom.

In Judaism the resurrection in its original form was the prerogative of the righteous, but in our text this characteristic has been abandoned, and both the pre-eminently righteous and the pre-eminently wicked have part in the resurrection. The conception of the resurrection has thus declined in our text into a mere vehicle for bringing certain classes of the righteous and the wicked to their deserts.

many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and
3 everlasting [a] contempt. And [b] they that be wise shall

[a] Or, *abhorrence* [b] Or, *the teachers*

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many. It is to be observed that it is not said that *all* Israel, but *many* in Israel shall be raised from the dead. These 'many' fall into two classes, the pre-eminently righteous, amongst whom are undoubtedly included the martyrs and confessors, and the pre-eminently wicked or the apostates. This is almost exactly what we find in 1 Enoch xxii, where, however, the idea of Sheol is in a higher state of development than that in our text.

sleep. Used of death as in Jer. li. 39, 57. It was one of the commonest synonyms for death.

sleep in the dust. This expression as well as the following word *awake* is found in the great resurrection passage in Isa. xxvi. 19.

in the dust of the earth. This rendering, though it has the support of some of the Versions, is not a translation of the text, which literally translated is 'in the land of dust.' Bevan thinks that we should expect a transposition of the words in the original. Marti explains 'the dust' as defining the term 'earth,' i.e. earth which is dust. Driver renders 'the dusty earth,' which comes to the same thing; but these are unsatisfactory. *'Aphar*, i.e. dust, can be used as a synonym of Sheol, cf. Job xvii. 16, xx. 11, xxi. 26, Ps. xxx. 9. Hence we should simply render the text as it stands, 'In the land of dust.' The Babylonian Hades, which is the same as that of the ancient Hebrews, is described in the Descent of Ishtar, as 'the dark house . . . the house from which he who enters never emerges . . . where dust is their nourishment, clay their food.'

shall awake. Isa. xxvi. 19, where the same verb is used in the same sense.

everlasting life. Here only in the O.T., but of frequent occurrence in Apocalyptic literature, in the Targums, the Talmuds, and other Jewish writings. It is found in 1 Enoch xv. 4, 6 which is older than the present text.

shame (and) **everlasting contempt.** The copula is not found in the text, but it is probably right, as it is found in the two Greek versions and in the Syriac. The word 'contempt' is found only once besides in the O. T., i. e. in Isa. lxvi. 24, 'They shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.'

3. This verse refers to the teachers and leaders of the faithful. Amongst these would naturally be the martyrs and confessors of Judaism, who with the teachers would be distinguished from the rest of the faithful Israelites. Cf. 1 Enoch civ. 2.

shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever
and ever. But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and 4
seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.
Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood other 5
two, the one on the brink of the river on this side, and

'Be hopeful; for aforetime ye were put to shame through ill and affliction;

But now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven,
Ye shall shine and ye shall be seen,
And the portals of heaven shall be opened to you.'

Cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 97.

they that be wise. Cf. xi. 33, 35.

the brightness of the firmament. Cf. Exod. xxiv. 10.

turn many to righteousness. Cf. Pirke Aboth v. 26, 'Whosoever makes the many righteous, sin prevails not over him, and whosoever makes the many to sin they grant him not the faculty to repent.' This passage is clearly dependent on our text.

4. *The angel's last commission to Daniel.*

shut up the words, and seal. The book was to be concealed and sealed. With the former injunction cf. viii. 26.

to the time of the end. The entire book, as it is said in viii. 17, 26, belongs to the time of Antiochus' persecution, when the seals should be removed and the book understood. Contrast Rev. xxii. 10.

many shall run to and fro. These words are generally taken to mean, shall run to and fro in the book, i. e. shall diligently study it, but, as Behrmann points out, the word would not naturally mean an earnest study of the book, but a superficial reading of it. The LXX here points to what was the true and original meaning. The text both of this clause and the next is very corrupt. I cannot do more here than add a translation ot what appears to be the original text, reconstructed from the basis of the Versions. Hence instead of 'many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased' read 'and many shall apostatize and evils shall be multiplied upon the earth.'

5-7. *Vision of the two angels,* one of whom states the duration of the troubles just foretold.

other two, i. e. in addition to the being who appeared to Daniel in x. 5, clothed in linen, and who had imparted to him the revelation in x. 11-14, 19—xii. 4.

6 the other on the brink of the river on that side. And one
said to the man clothed in linen, which was above the
waters of the river, How long shall it be to the end of
7 these wonders? And I heard the man clothed in linen,
which was above the waters of the river, when he held up
his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware
by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times,
and an half; and when they have made an end of breaking in pieces the power of the holy people, all these things

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the river (*yĕ'ōr*). The word used here is elsewhere in the O.T. the usual designation for the Nile. It is the same river that is mentioned in x. 4, which, as we saw in the note on that passage, is most probably the Euphrates.

6. And one said to the man. Cf. viii. 13.

the man clothed in linen: the same being as is described in x. 5, 6.

these wonders, i.e. the things prophesied in xi. 31–36, xii. 1.

7. he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and he sware. The lifting up of the hand and swearing is mentioned in Gen. xiv. 22, Exod. vi. 8, Deut. xxxii. 40. Here both hands are lifted up by the angel in the case of this most solemn oath.

him that liveth for ever. This was a familiar phrase of the time, see note on iv. 34 where it has already occurred.

for a time, times, and an half, i.e. three years and a half. Whether this period began with the mission of Apollonius or with the erection of the heathen altar is doubtful. In any case it defines the limit of the reign of the Antichrist; see notes on vii. 25 and viii. 14.

and when they have made an end of breaking in pieces the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished. We have here a fresh time determination, and it is entirely vague, and apparently has no connexion whatever with the definite time determination just given. The angel has just declared with a most solemn oath that all will come to an end in three years and a half. He could not have followed this definite statement by one so entirely vague, and not even true to fact. For the power of the holy people was not wholly broken in pieces. The fact that the Versions take different directions, shows that the present Hebrew text is secondary. The way out of this *impasse* is suggested by the LXX, which requires us to transpose two of the Hebrew words, as Bevan has recognized. When this is done and

shall be finished. And I heard, but I understood not: 8
then said I, O my lord, what shall be the [a] issue of these
things? And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the 9
words are shut up and sealed till the time of the end.
Many shall purify themselves, and make themselves 10
white, and be refined; but the wicked shall do wickedly;
and none of the wicked shall understand: but [b] they that

[a] Or, *latter end* [b] Or, *the teachers*

---

a slight change made in the pointing, we arrive at the following excellent text. 'And when the power of the shatterer of the holy people should be finished all these things should be finished.' 'The shatterer of the holy people' is of course Antiochus. The angel proclaims with the most solemn oath that this oppressor is the last of all the oppressors.

8. Daniel, as living at the time of Cyrus, is represented as not understanding this time determination, and as therefore seeking more explicit information. To the readers of the book in the time of Antiochus the meaning of ver. 7 was of course quite clear. This is the usual interpretation of these words, but it must be confessed that it is not quite satisfactory that Daniel should again ask 'what is the end of these things?' when he has already been told it repeatedly. The LXX suggests a better text.

what shall be the issue of these things? The word rendered 'issue' is better rendered in the margin 'latter end,' and is in fact a synonym for the word translated 'end' in ver. 6 and ver. 9. In rendering the word 'issue' the Revisers attempted to extract some meaning from a bad text.

9. The angel refuses to give any further explanation of the things belonging to the end. They are not for the prophet but for the readers of the distant future. The same view of prophecy is expressed in 1 Pet. i. 10–12.

10. This verse repeats for the most part what has been said in xi. 35, as to the time of the end being a period of trial and probation. As this trial will refine and purify the faithful it will only deepen and confirm the wicked in their wickedness.

none of the wicked shall understand, but they that be wise shall understand. The wicked act blindly, but the wise have understanding in the ways of the Lord. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the words refer to the understanding or the lack of understanding of the words of the prophets, and particularly of the words of this prophet.

11 be wise shall understand. And from the time that the
continual *burnt offering* shall be taken away, and the
abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be
12 a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he
that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred
13 and five and thirty days. But go thou thy way till the end
be: for thou shalt rest, and shalt stand in thy lot, at the
end of the days.

11, 12. In verse 9 the angel clearly refused to give Daniel any further information on the period yet to elapse before the coming of the kingdom. And yet we find in these two verses two new and different reckonings given which are in conflict with the one already furnished in viii. 14. In viii. 14 it is stated that 1,150 days should elapse, from the doing away with the continual burnt offering, till the cleansing of the sanctuary. These two new reckonings start from the same date, i.e. from the removal of the continual burnt offering. Cf. viii. 14, ix. 27, xi. 31. Both verses are, I think, without doubt to be taken with Gunkel and Marti as glosses, that were added successively with a view to bringing the text into accord with history by adjourning the date of the fulfilment of the prophecy. As such, these glosses, therefore, must have originated at the time. The period mentioned in ver. 11, i.e. 1,290 days, is easy to explain. It obviously defines the duration of the 3½ years. If we insert in the 3½ years (=42 months =1,260 days. Cf. Rev. xi. 3, xii. 6) an intercalary month, we have 43 months in the 3½ years, and if we take these as consisting of 30 days each, we arrive at the number 1,290. How 1,335 is to be explained otherwise than on the ground of practical necessity, I do not see. It amounts to 45 days, or 1½ months more than 1,290 days.

11. The abomination that maketh desolate. Cf. viii. 13, ix. 27, xi. 31.

13. The book closes with a word of comfort to Daniel.

thou shalt rest, i.e. in the grave. Isa. lvii. 2.

shalt stand, i.e. 'shalt arise,' though the meaning of resurrection, apparently attached to the word here, is not found elsewhere.

in thy lot. The seer, as belonging to the pre-eminently faithful, shall one day rise to share in the blessedness announced by him.

end of the days. Cf. x. 14 where the phrase, though different in the Hebrew, has practically the same meaning.

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